Narratives & Discourses of Rwandan Former Refugees & Genocide Survivors In the USC-Shoah Archive & Western (US, UK, Italy, Canada) Newspapers

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Abstract

This dissertation study examines the sensemaking and resilience expressions of Rwandan former refugees' and genocide survivors' (FRGSs') life-stories, as well as the characteristics of Western journalists' and media commentators' retellings and discussion of those life-stories. This topic is of interest to genocide survivor associations; international, national government and non-government institutions and organizations; social workers; and immigration and asylum lawyers, among other stake-holders. The primary research questions are 1) How is sensemaking and resilience expressed in the narratives and discourses of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors? 2) What are the differences between the ways Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors (FRGS) tell their own stories, and the way other commentators tell or talk about their stories in the media? Narrative and discourse analysis methods were used to investigate the answers to those questions over a period of two years. The key findings suggest that Rwandan FRGSs express sensemaking and resilience in three main ways, namely: 1) locating personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide, 2) the provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences, and 3) recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations. On the other hand, Western journalists and mass media commentators retell Rwandan FRGS life-stories by 1) simplifying the cause of the genocide as enmity between Tutsis and Hutus, with inadequate credit given to other responsible factors, 2) frequently covering and emphasizing stories of reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, and the resilience and survival of Rwandan survivors and the society-at-large, and 3) deliberately highlighting and using de-facto (unintended) interpretations of the commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides and mass conflicts.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the souls of the 800,000+ victims of the 1994 genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda, and to all the survivors of that genocide.

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My family—both my parents and siblings spread out on three continents—have supported me tirelessly over the years, and I am eternally grateful to you all. However, I would be remiss not to mention in earnest that my mum and my dear big-sis "Thowphie" have virtually written this dissertation with me over the past two years. I love you guys, and I can never repay you for all you've done for me. Thank you.

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Chapter One:

Introduction to the Study

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1.1 Introduction and Initial Rationale for Project

As of May 2014, numerous scholars have written on topics at the intersection of the concepts of forced migration, identity negotiation, and the adaptive process of resilience after mass conflicts (e.g. among numerous others: Kim 1988, Linde 1993, Welaratna 1993, and Foxen 2007). In this dissertation, the specific population from within which I will examine the above concepts is that of Rwandan genocide survivors in Rwanda, and in the United States. The survivors in the United States are also former refugees, i.e. they escaped Rwanda shortly before, during, or shortly after the 1994 genocide, or even the earlier pogroms against Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

Specifically, this dissertation will examine the expression of sensemaking and resilience in the narratives of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors, and the differences between the ways Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors (FRGS) tell their own stories, and the way other commentators tell or talk about survivor stories in newspapers. Via dissemination at conference presentations, through publications, word of mouth, and other avenues, the wider Rwandan survivor and former refugee community-at-large can gain directly from the findings of this research. For instance, members might deduce and adopt best practices for resilience process strategies, they might get inspired to come forward and share their own stories of survival and resilience, or they can just find solace in knowing that they are not alone in their quest for peace and closure in the aftermath of such suffering *in extremis*.

For the community of scholars engaged in the topics or sub-disciplines of refugee studies, narrative sensemaking, identity, and post mass-conflict resilience (among others); this research can add a new dimension to our knowledge of the specific effects and implications that the

Rwandan genocide and its aftermath has wrought on all these topics combined. This problem can be mathematically written as:

Illustration 1.0:

Mathematical Expression of Dissertation Topic/Problem

(Forced migration from Rwandan genocide)

+

(the concepts of: narrative sensemaking, identity, resilience)

=

?

Based on the studies of phenomenology in narrative and life story data collection and analysis by Riessman (1993) and Linde (1993), as well as their advice to researchers on the importance of not ignoring their own unique perspective in such studies, this dissertation has autoethnographic elements. My own heritage as the child of a Rwandan-Ugandan woman born to Rwandan parents in Uganda, who lost dozens of relatives in Rwanda, and who still has family members in Rwanda, informs my understanding of the issues. Also, having grown up in Uganda—which has a large ethnic Rwandan population, and living and studying in the USA for over 11 years, uniquely positions me as cultural bridge between American, and East African (Ugandan/Rwandan) cultures. I speak Luganda (its structure has some commonalities with *Kinyarwanda*) and I am also learning Kinyarwanda, and I am very familiar with a big number of the cultural norms of *Banyarwanda* (Rwandans). Overall, in light of all the foregoing relevant autobiographical details, I believe I have an ideal distance *and* familiarity to the people and

issues that might help me carry out a research study with a balanced perspective. In fact, the idea of the native ethnographer and of autoethnographic encounters—e.g. as discussed by Hayano (1979) and Lindlof and Taylor (2002)—has gained a wide following over the past three decades.

It should also be noted that even if one was to (falsely) argue that there has been enough research about the Rwandan genocide in relation to the topics of forced migration, narrative sensemaking and memory, and resilience, as Rakhmiel Peltz (R. Peltz, personal communication March 2014) and others (e.g. Raizman & Hollander-Goldfein 2002) have pointed out, a lot of findings from the analyses of genocide survivor testimonies can only be confidently confirmed with the benefit of hindsight. Many survivors' testimonies will sound different (i.e. via recollection, tone, assignment of blame, etc.) immediately or a few years after a genocide, compared to 10, 20, or more years after the genocide.

In the next sections, I will break down and define some of the important components of the dissertation topic(s), describe the theoretical framework in which this dissertation research will be grounded, and I will give a brief preview of some of the prevailing themes in the current body of knowledge on the combined topic of refugeehood, narrative sensemaking, and post mass-conflict resilience.

1.2 Context and Definitions

1.1.1 (Post Mass-Conflict) Resilience

As the details in the first part of my literature review below will show, a number of studies in communication, sociolinguistics, and anthropology have to-date shed much light on refugee studies, and the concept of resilience in particular (e.g. Kim 1990, Welaratna 1995, Schiffrin 2002, and Foxen 2007 among others). In these and other disciplines—with the notable

exception of psychology, psychiatry, and similar fields—the authors might not use the term "resilience," or they might use constructs somewhat similar to resilience.

In this study however, it is important to note that the specific conception of the term "resilience" is from two particular studies by Zraly and Nyirazinyoye (2010) and Zraly, Rubin and Mukamana (2013). Both of these studies were carried out in post-genocide Rwanda with women survivors of the genocide that had also been raped during the ordeal. Some of those women contracted HIV. Some gave birth to the children of their rapists, and some women both contracted HIV, and gave birth to HIV-positive children.

In both of these studies, the authors define the concept of resilience—with roots in developmental psychopathology—as the "…positive patterns of functioning or development during or following exposure to adversity." Resilience can also be defined as "…more simply…good adaptation in a context of risk." (p. 1657) The authors also note that—per Jenkins (1996), post-traumatic "emotional integrity" can also signify resilience.

The authors also unveil some of the local Rwandan terms or concepts that help in the breaking down and contextual application of resilience to Rwandan genocide-rape survivors. In other words, they answer the question: how do Rwandan genocide-rape survivors enact the concept of resilience *in their own contextually and culturally specific ways*? The three key concepts with which these women enact resilience are: 1) "*Kwihangana,* an intrapsychic creative process of drawing strength from within the self or order to withstand suffering;" 2) "*Kwongera kubaho,* affirmation of the reestablishment of the existential conditions for being;" 3) "*Gukomeza ubuzima,* the moving forward in life by accepting ongoing struggles and fighting for survival" (p. 1657).

One of the main hypotheses made in this proposal is that Western (esp. US &UK) mass media commentators represent resilience among Rwandan former refugees and survivors in a fundamentally different light from the ways those individuals themselves embody and discuss it. However, there are of course a number of commonalities between the groups' portrayals of resilience, e.g. the shock and trauma of physical and mental pain, not to mention the anguish of losing loved ones.

1.1.2 (Rwandan) Refugees/Former Refugees

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) definition, a refugee is "a person outside of his or her own country with a well-founded fear of future persecution on the basis of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a social group" (UNHCR Website, 2014).

It should be noted that as with many Diaspora and refugee communities, the Rwandan former refugee community around the world is diverse, and often includes children born abroad to Rwandan refugees/former refugees. In fact, outside of the context of fleeing conflict and persecution, Rwanda is a country with a long documented history of outward migration within East Africa (e.g. Mamdani, 2002). But because of a variety of reasons—perhaps especially the proliferation of faster satellite and electronic media during the nineties, post-1994 Rwandan genocide survivors and refugees have had a prominent presence in international news media. Non-profit and academic institutions including the USC-Shoah Foundation (which maintains the USC-Shoah archive) have also taken interest in the curation of Rwandan genocide narratives for human rights/justice and posterity, among other reasons. Therefore, outside of the context of legal/political studies of refugeehood; this dissertation seeks to further our understanding of how coherent life stories of refugeehood are portrayed by both the refugees themselves—via USC-

Shoah archive narrative analysis, and how those same life stories are portrayed by media commentators—via critical discourse analysis of Western (US, UK, Italian, Canadian) newspaper articles.

1.1.3 Narrative Sensemaking

Studies by Maclean, Harvey, and Chia (2011); Abolafia (2010); and Brown, Stacy, and Nandhakumar (2008), all look into the processes and implications of narrative sensemaking in organizations. All three sets of authors precede their findings with pithy histories of narrative sensemaking studies, including Weick's (1995) seminal study. However, according to Brown Et. AL, two major threads of narrative sensemaking literature have emerged in the past two decades (in organization studies), with a number of theorists positing that individuals generally recall and interpret events similarly (in line with Canterill's 1941 concept of "frames of reference"), while other theorists posit that individuals recall and interpret events uniquely. However, Brown Et. AL claim that much of the literature from that second thread of sensemaking studies above "has tended to focus on" the idea of equifinality. In other words, individuals might recall and interpret events uniquely, but those recollections/interpretations will still result in uniform future group-behaviors or reified group values and goals.

Maclean Et. AL's data is collected from interviews with CEOs in the UK; Abolafia's study analyzes the transcripts of the US Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee meetings from the summer and fall of 1992; and Brown Et. AL's study uses responses collected from interviews with a group of game developers from a company based in Singapore. Whereas Abolafia's study highlights the process of narrative sensemaking in groups via negotiation with the goal of building/maintaining consensus, Brown Et. AL and Maclean Et. AL's studies instead emphasize the stakes involved for individuals—i.e. with their identities or self-conceptions and

their reputations—during the interpretation of events or "facts" and the attachment of value to them. For Abolafia, narrative sensemaking involves "abduction," i.e. the collective juxtaposition of past and present events with a group's communal values and goals; "plotting," i.e. discursively reordering / (re)interpreting those events into an agreeable narrative (in line with the group's values and goals); and "selective retention," i.e. the making of resolutions for use in the present and the future based on the facts that have been (re)interpreted / valued. For Maclean Et. AL, narrative sensemaking entails discursively "locating" one's self in a specific context and time and place; "meaning making" by attaching one's own values to an event; and "becoming," i.e. asserting a future result or resolution as a result of what one has witnessed or experienced. And for Brown Et. AL, narrative sensemaking involves the use of a basic agreed-upon/collective frame of reference, followed by the punctuation or tweaking of that frame with one's own interpretation so as to build a positive self-conception or reputation.

1.2 Theoretical Framework and Preview of Literature Review

The rough ideas, research questions and hypotheses, methodology and other elements of this research study are based on a theoretical framework undergirded by two main theoretical and methodological traditions in communication studies namely, symbolic interactionism (SI), and narrative inquiry. More specifically, the conceptualization, methodological design, and analysis of the study is supported by a hexad of theories/frameworks and past studies (some of whom have been alluded to above) namely:

1) Erving Goffman's SI-centric work on the concept of footing in his (1981) study "Forms of Talk,"
2) Labov and Waletsky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) theories and methodological frameworks on narrative analysis,

3) Linde's (1993) treatise on life story narratives and coherence systems,

4) Schiffrin's (1987) formulation of discourse markers and her (2002) study on the use of referring terms and constructed dialogue in a Holocaust survivor's narrative,

5) Riessman's (1993) theoretical/methodological overview and guide to narrative analysis,

6) And finally, Gee's (2011) theoretical and methodological guide to discourse analysis.

In addition to the above frameworks and seminal past studies, there are of course other studies in a variety of academic disciplines that have grappled with refugee studies, specifically in relation to the concepts of forced migration narratives, identity, and resilience.

In the literature review below, there are two main categories of studies. The first category is composed of studies from the communication, sociolinguistics, and anthropology (i.e. Kim 1990; Welaratna 1993; Malkki 1995; Schiffrin 2002; Foxen 2007; and Witteborn 2007, 2008). In addition to the fact that I share many of their authors' general hypotheses, theoretical and methodological preferences, I am grouping these studies together because of their seminal nature in the context of refugee studies. Thus in addition to my own theoretical/methodological frameworks, I might borrow some elements of their designs.

The second category of studies this proposal's literature review has the overarching theme of "Narrative and Identity." This category has five sub-themes, namely: 1) adaptation/assimilation, 2) gender differences, 3) negotiating collective identity, 4) use/improvement of narrative methodology, and 5) perception of Diaspora and collective memory.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Micro- vs. Macro- Studies in Narrative & Discourse Analytic Refugee Studies.

Schiffrin's studies are arguably those which make the most use of narrative micro-analysis. In this context, I use the terms micro- and macro-analysis (of narratives) in reference to the level of specificity with which scholars dissect, define, and apply the features of narratives. For instance, some scholars might focus on the role of various single words or short clauses in narratives, whereas other scholars might highlight the big themes that recur in a given set of narratives.

Schiffrin points out that oral history interviews are conducive for the elicitation of *life stories*. She compares the trajectories of life story narratives as described and analyzed by Linde originally, and from the results of her own (Schiffrin's) study, and points out that contrary to Linde's definition, life stories might not necessarily have "reportable" events in and of themselves, and they often lack evaluations. However, she posits both sets of life stories (i.e. hers and Linde's) have elements of temporal (dependent on time sequence), and thematic (discontiguous) frameworks.

Schiffrin then goes on to report the results of the analysis she carried out on an idiographic Jewish Holocaust survivor narrative. She looks at the way her narrator uses referring terms and constructed dialogue while recounting the story of her separation from her mother in Germany before she (the survivor) was sent to a concentration camp. This systematic interpretation (while looking at referring terms and constructed dialogue), along with other tools such as the reading of contextualization cues, helped Schiffrin to zero-in on the narrator's ambivalent, even somewhat resentful affect toward her mother (for abandoning her), albeit couched in the overarching Holocaust survival tale.

1.3.2 Macro Studies

This section describes work on refugees that encompass narratives but also build on other investigative issues. Works by Kim (1990), Welaratna (1993), Malkki (1995), Foxen (2007), and Witteborn (2007, 2008) all illuminate how I define issues of sensemaking, resilience and narrative.

Kim examines the acculturation process of a population of Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong, and Vietnamese refugees. Kim first summarizes her (1988) theory of cultural adaptation. Based on general systems theory, Kim's adaptation theory envisions human beings as open systems that are always trying to maintain inner equilibrium. The stress-adaptation-growth process we encounter in new environments involves acculturation and deculturation, i.e. unlearning of our old cultures' ways of living and learning those of our new cultures. Throughout the above process, interpersonal communication with host-nationals and the use of mass communication (via print and broadcast media) can help refugees adjust better. Language competence can also influence the adaptation process, as can host environment and individual predisposition. Based on this theory, Kim hypothesized that communication is a vital ingredient in cultural strangers' adaptation to new homelands, and she set out to investigate the roles of, and changes to five variables in refugees' lives in the United States namely English competence, interpersonal communication with host natives, consumption of host mass communication, psychological health, and personal fitness. She designed a survey which she administered to "as many [south-east Asian] refugees as possible" (p. 196) in Illinois in three phases in 1979, with a follow-up survey of a sample of the original population (200 respondents of the original 1777).

The results of Kim's survey confirmed her hypotheses that the five factors above were key to successful psycho-cultural adjustment. Compared to data from her 1979 data, her 1982 data showed an across-the-board improvement in English competence, host/ethnic interpersonal

communication, host mass communication media consumption, alienation (respondents felt less alienated in 1982), and economic status. The average composite score for English competence was 6.6 in 1979, and 8.0 in 1982; respondents in 1982 reported having a larger number of "White American" friends compared to "ethnic" friends; a third of the respondents in 1979 reported watching less than 1 hour of TV, compared to 75% of the respondents watching more than 1 hour of TV in 1982; the average alienation score in 1979 was 16.6, compared to 20.3 in 1982 (the values were reversed; a higher score = "healthier psychological orientation"); 44% of the refugees were unemployed in 1979 compared to 32% in 1982. Meanwhile, Kim's cross-sectional and Pearson correlation analyses showed that the variables she was investigating were related; i.e. (among other links) English competence was positively associated with host interpersonal communication and media consumption, and both of these were related to better psychological health and functional fitness.

By contrast to Kim's quantitative psychological study, ethnographic approaches to refugee adjustment bring us finer grained data about individual variation, and the nature of story-telling within communities as a kind of resilience. Ethnographic approaches also don't use apriori categories of "adjustment" but instead uncover and demonstrate how culture-specific forms of adaptation work to create localized kinds of resilience. In *Beyond the Killing Fields*, Usha Welaratna reveals and analyzes the experiences in depth of nine Cambodian refugees living in northern California in the early 1990s. Their life stories recount their experiences in Cambodia before the genocide that forced them to flee their country, their survival ordeals during that genocide, and the struggles the refugees face while trying to get used to life in America.

Among other tools, Welaratna's analytical framework combines elements of narrative (life-story) analysis, ethnography and autoethnography (including thick descriptions), and

historical analysis. Throughout the preface and the introduction, Welaratna recounts her first encounter with Cambodians at a temple she and her family had visited, and how she first learned about the traumatic experiences they had been through under the Khmer Rouge. But she later learned from a teacher at a conference that many American educators and social workers were disappointed by the perceived failure of Cambodian refugees to assimilate into American culture. She thus set out to highlight the backgrounds, challenges, and worldviews of Cambodian refugees so as to try and change the aforementioned perceptions by educators, social workers and others, of Cambodians' supposed reticence to assimilate.

Perhaps most importantly, while interviewing her informants, Welaratna drew on her own struggles and mindset as an immigrant who had to learn to fit-in in America, as well as her Theravada Buddhist heritage. These autobiographical qualities helped her in deciding which questions to ask, and how to ask them. Near the end of the book, Welaratna provides an interpretation of the significant themes from all the narrators' stories. One of the most important lessons from the narratives she analyzes is the conflicting definition of the concept of "successful adjustment" (p. 261) as perceived from the viewpoint of American vs. Cambodian culture.

In another ethnographic study on post-refugee adjustment, Liisa Malkki presents the findings of an ethnography she carried out in a refugee camp and border town in Tanzania from 1985 to 86, among Burundian refugees that had escaped a Tutsi-led genocide in Burundi. Malkki reveals that the Burundian refugees in the camp standardized and repeatedly told of a national history that portrayed them as innocent victims. In sum, the idea is that they were victims with pure Burundian-Bantu blood, a hard-working people that had been chased from their country by foreign evil usurpers, i.e. the Tutsi.

In contrast to that grand narrative however, the townsfolk refugees did their best to blend in with their host Tanzanian nationals, engage in commerce, and actively enact new distinct identities (e.g. as Muslims), which were not dependent on national myths. In fact, they had no desire to return to Burundi. Apparently, the nationalistic history perpetuated by the Burundian Hutu refugees was vital in conditioning them to mercilessly kill Tutsis upon returning to Burundi.

Overall, the book shows us how grand narratives—in this case constructed in situations of extreme suffering in refugee camps—can infiltrate individuals' narratives. It also clearly demonstrates the vicious cycle caused by collective memories of hostility to out-groups. And yet, the book also shows us the phenomenological quality of mass conflict. For in this case, Hutus were the victims, as opposed to the later genocide in 1994 in neighboring Rwanda, where Tutsis were the victims.

In another study that deals with collective phenomenology in how groups of people remember and then individually deal with conflicts and traumas of genocide, Foxen (2007) details the travails of the K'iche' Mayans from a town she calls "Xinxuc" in Guatemala, both there and in Providence, RI. She contextualizes their challenges, giving a history of their discrimination by past governments and before that the colonists, and the brutal civil war that was especially tough on small towns such as "Xinxuc."

She also details the historical rich tradition of intra-national migration in Guatemala, and the mass movement of refugees out of the country that followed the civil war. While there's been a movement—with a big contribution of resources by Western NGOs—of a national Pan-Maya identity in Guatemala following the civil war, K'iche' Mayans in Providence have often found themselves living in close proximity to individuals who inflicted great harm on them and their

families during the war. The most prominent commonality between the K'iche' Mayans' situation and that of post-genocide Rwanda, is the ambivalence of the survivors and refugees to explicitly discuss and apportion blame in regard to their past suffering. And even when they engage in memorializing and dealing with the aftermath of the conflicts (e.g. via pursuing justice), K'iche' Mayans and Rwandans apparently do it using their own culturally or idiosyncratically appropriate tools, e.g. the use of *Gacaca* courts in Rwanda, or the description of a nightmare by a former refugee named Donizio in Foxen's book.

Witteborn's longitudinal focus (2007, 2008) is on refugee identity expression, with her theoretical framework considerably informed by Gergen's (2005) social constructionist approach towards narrating. For instance, Gergen (2005) asserts that humans tell stories so as to foster positive change. Also, "Regressive narratives can help narrators gain sympathy and support for particular conditions or have a 'compensatory function.'" (Witteborn, 2008, p. 204, Gergen, 2005, p. 109) Another assumption by Gergen (2005) is the link between narrative and identity. As opposed to prevailing Western theories which suggest that narrators are rational and self-sufficient beings, the social constructionist approach argues that humans establish their identities in concert with their cohorts, along with the relevant histories and discourses. Another notable point she makes is on the concept of "Imagined Transnational Communities." She points out that past studies have uncovered a concept of Diaspora, in which migrants, including refugees, are included as part of that group, only after they adopt similar "images and practices" (Witteborn, 2008, p. 206). Among Diaspora communities, narrative is an important tool for building and reifying identities, particularly during periods when the host nation is at war with the countries in which refugees and other migrants came from.

In both of the above-listed studies, Witteborn studies the narratives of populations of Palestinian and Iraqi refugees (respectively), and she uncovers several grand themes that recur throughout each set of narratives. For instance, among the Iraqi narratives, Witteborn traced four major themes among all narrators' stories, namely "War" [based on participants' experiences of the Gulf War of 1990], "Being Refugees and Resistors," "Being Survivors," and "Collective Action" (Witteborn, 2008). In the Palestinian narratives, Witteborn made note of the dichotomy of "happy vs. sad stories" that many of the narrators chose to use in classifying their narratives. She adds that the narrators would often tie their Palestinian identity to the stories and feelings of despair and suffering that they had experienced while growing up the occupied West Bank or in refugee camps in Jordan.

1.3.3 Refugee Identity via Narrative

As aforementioned, there are five sub-themes in the "Narrative & Identity" category of studies (i.e. composed of works beyond the five seminal macro studies discussed above), namely:

1. Adaptation/assimilation
2. Gender Differences
3. Negotiating collective identity
4. Use/improvement of narrative methodology
5. Perception of Diaspora and collective memory

1.3.3. a. Adaptation/assimilation. Unlike the studies in the "Resilience" category, the "Identity" category studies are not predominantly the kind that can be categorized under the adaptation/assimilation theme. But just like the studies under the other four themes in both of the major categories of my literature review (i.e. "Identity" and "Resilience") the

adaptation/assimilation-themed studies offer us some unique and valuable insights into the concepts of narrative sensemaking, identity, and resilience.

For instance, Semlak et. al (2008) examine the dialectical tensions experienced by female African refugees during their adaptation to life in the United States. Such tensions include positive vs. negative experience of their new life in American, inclusion vs. exclusion, acceptance vs. rejection, and the real vs. the ideal. The participants would cite examples of the above tensions such as the difficulty of their husbands in coping to American routines of working and going for job training or college (negative vs. positive life experiences and real vs. ideal), their perceived inability to use even mild forms of corporal punishments on their children for fear of child protective service sanctions (inclusion vs. exclusion), and their savoring of their new assertive agency as co-leaders of the households, yet regretting their children's reluctance to learn their native traditions (acceptance vs. rejection).

Unfortunately, the difficulties of adaption/assimilation that refugees face aren't limited to the internal (household/family) ones such as those highlighted by Semlak et al above. Often, refugees that are "marked" because of their demographic/cultural backgrounds—e.g. being black or brown, wearing the hijab, etc.—are openly or subtly discriminated against, and of course this is a barrier to their smooth adaptation to life in the West. Aniko Hatoss' (2012) study demonstrates this phenomenon, reporting the findings of a study with Sudanese former refugees in Australia. Hatoss makes use of positioning theory to examine how the participants position themselves in the story and interactional worlds within their mini-narratives. Overall, Hatoss' participants not only told of their experiences of encounters with white Australians who asked "Where are you from?" but they also evaluated or used positioning techniques (story world vs. interactional/interview setting) to highlight the discrimination or unfairness of such encounters.

The last study under the adaptation/assimilation theme in this category (identity) is Yabone Gilpin-Jackson's (2012) "Becoming Gold: Understanding the Post-War Narratives of Transformation of African Immigrants and Refugees." She highlights the fact that as of 2012, most refugee studies had emphasized trauma and posttraumatic stress, but not enough research had looked into the concept of growth. She thus set out to examine the descriptions of former refugees' growth and development experiences (her participants were from—among other countries: Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and Rwanda). Gilpin-Jackson's analysis highlighted the fact that her participants used their culturally influenced discourses to discuss holistic knowing, family norms, togetherness, and taboos. According to their narratives, post-war transformation involved—among other themes: discovering new purposes for living, valuing life more deliberately, and growing spiritually.

1.3.3. b. Gender Differences. In a considerably large number of refugee studies, the theme of gender is prominent. Whereas its precise role varies in these studies, many authors often look at topics such as the plight of women and children in exile (e.g. challenges of raising children, lack of sufficient support systems, etc.), the differences between men and women via coping mechanisms, and role of mass conflicts and exile changing—for better or worse—women's role in society. For instance, a researcher with a feminist perspective might explore if women's social and economic prospects might change for the better in a different country compared to their native country. In the examples below, Einhorn (2001) examines the gendered experience of exile and the relationship between the concepts of identity, and belonging. Seu (2003) critically explores popular perceptions about destitute refugee mothers in the UK. Warriner (2004) reports on the experiences (elicited via narrative analysis) of Sudanese refugee women in an ESL program in the US (the state is unmentioned). Pavlish (2007) reports on the

life experiences—elicited via narrative inquiry—of Congolese men and women in a Rwandan refugee camp. And Smith (2013) uses network analysis to study the social networks built in a mid-Western city by 17 refugee women from 14 countries, examining the role of structural and communicative properties in their identity negotiations.

In her study, Einhorn studies the narratives of five German Jewish Marxist women who left Germany during the Nazi regime but returned after WWII. One of the tensions she addresses from the outset in this article is the fact that it might be ineffectual for feminist methodology researchers to apply their perspective to narratives of women who came of age in an era where issues of gender inequality were not "…consciously perceive[d] or articulate[d]." (p. 702) However, given the efficacy of co-construction in research and the centrality of gender in her hypotheses, it would have been "…unrealistic to have omitted" it in her analysis (p. 702). The most substantive differences between men and women's testimonies of exile and return were women's easier adaptability as well as their readiness "to admit to ambivalence" (p. 712). Women also "tend[ed] to stress maternal values and an ethos of care and support." (p. 712).

Apropos that last assertion by Einhorn, Seu (2003) arguably tries to empathize with refugee mothers in the UK who are forced to panhandle on the streets. She examines the issue of refugees via the lenses of host nationals outside of professional media. But in so doing, she exposes the various misconceptions that first generation citizens often have of refugee mothers. For instance, Seu critically looks at the transcribed dialogues and narratives of her participants who were discussing Roma women "holding the kids" that they encounter, e.g. "on the tube." (p. 162) Among her focus group, British women seemed to think that the Roma women targeted them specifically because of their gender, as they probably expected more sympathy from fellow women than men. She concludes by noting that at the end of the day, citizens of Western

countries might readily empathize with images on TV of war and fleeing multitudes, but they find it harder to empathize with those same individuals on "our streets, our buses, and suddenly…'in your face'…" This happens in part because the ideology of humanitarianism clashes with those of individualism and materialism.

Unfortunately, that clash becomes exacerbated in a setting such as the US, where the ideologies of individualism and materialism are more popular, and there is wide-spread skepticism in regard to a stronger national safety-net system and pro-poor policies (Carr, 2011). Warriner's study highlights this tension, making note early on of the "societal-level discourses…that new immigrants should be provided education and other social services only in English; that new immigrants can learn enough English within three months of arriving in the United States to get a job and become self-sufficient…" Her findings completely debunk the preceding assertions. In a close reading of the transcripts of the interviews she carried out with the participants, Warriner uncovers the fact that these refugee mothers often struggle to provide for their families, as they have to either rely on the single minimum wage-income of their husbands and or their own, and they strive to move up the career ladder, yet have insufficient social support to help them with vital needs such as childcare. However, the most debilitating barrier to improving lower income refugees' living standards is the same as that faced by numerous working poor in the US, namely the lack of a sliding scale or other innovative system of government aid (Carr, 2011). In other words, the working poor are often taken off of safety-net programs as soon as they start working, and yet the income they make is insufficient for their families to live on. Thus, the government ends up punishing the ethos of work that it tries to promote and/or destabilizes newly financially independent people from the start, leading them back into crisis. In any case, Warriner concludes on an optimistic note, pointing out that her

participants should not be viewed as simply "helpless victims of unfortunate circumstances, anti-immigration attitudes, or English-only policies." (p. 293) After all, these women increasingly become adept at figuring how to balance motherhood, work, and education or job training, creating agencies for themselves as ordinary "people with goals and dreams" (p. 293).

In a similar study to the latter but in a different setting, Pavlish sets outs to examine the different experiences of women vs. men in refugee camps and their implications. While working as volunteer healthcare professional in Gihembe Refugee Camp in Rwanda near the Congo border, Pavlish collected narratives from women and men, in which the main topic was their life experiences in general and at the camp. Overall, women and men revealed different concerns in the narratives, with only one theme present in both women and men's narratives, i.e. "Leaving the good life behind." Both women and men reminisced about "[having been] rich" in the Congo. "Families had milk to drink, fresh food to eat, and clothes they could afford," (p. 30) or "possess[ing] cows, sheep, goats, and chickens, and [having] raised a variety of vegetable crops." (p. 32). Otherwise, women mostly worried about their daughters and the peer pressure that might get them to engage in sex early. They felt ambivalent about their marriages, and they lacked hope. Men reported "Having no peace in the heart"—a reference to being unable to financially provide for their families, and "Fearing the future." Pavlish's recommendations based on her findings were for healthcare professionals to try and mobilize/provide other needs for refugee families besides healthcare, and for nurses to be sensitive to the different ways in which men and women experience suffering in refugee camps.

The last study under the theme of gender that can improve our conception of identity development and negotiation among refugees, is by L. Ripley Smith (2013). Smith examines the social network of 17 women refugees (from a total of 14 countries) in a mid-Western city. His

aim was to uncover the effects on intercultural identity of the size and heterogeneity of in-group/out-group interactions (esp. between refugees and host nationals) of his respondents. Overall, Smith's findings revealed that female refugees' social networks are very limited, and that their friendships and support—e.g. with childcare—come from sources such as extended family members, co-workers, church or mosque mates, etc. Smith concludes that the causes of women refugees' hesitance to connect with host-nationals might stem from their traumatic transitions from their native countries, and the fact that many women came from countries where they were not expected to be assertive.

1.3.3. c. Negotiating collective identity. The other theme that is inescapable in most, if not *all* refugee studies is that of collective identity. This theme is paradoxically important and obvious (hence my use of it both as a major category *and* theme in this literature review) in refugee studies, yet is hard to clearly define and quantify, and thus is hard to study, i.e. via its potential implications to refugees' wellbeing in the West or other countries of refuge. In fact, whereas one can arguably place a big number of studies in this literature review under the "Collective Identity" theme—e.g. based on the criteria of gender as an identity; from my evaluation, there are only two studies that best highlight the concept of collective identity. These studies are by Allan (2005), and Bikmen (2013).

Using the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut as her research site, Allan reexamines the mythologizing process of the *Al-Nakba* story, i.e. the tragic story of losing their homeland that Palestinians of older generations have spoken of over the decades. But contrary to the findings of previous scholars, she reports that (as of 2005) much of the talk or storytelling related to *Al-Nakba* happens spontaneously and in fragments, as opposed to the previous traditional way of passing down knowledge in gatherings e.g. during internal family dinners, and family get-

togethers. The youth tend to spend their time with friends, using the internet or watching satellite television, and the senior citizens who were alive during the actual *Al-Nakba* events are isolated and aren't paid attention to by grandchildren. Part of the reason for the cessation of discussing lengthily discussing *Al-Nakba* is deliberate. Allan notes that in previous decades, the story was actively told because there was still hope of returning to Palestine. But as that hope dwindles, talk of Al-Nakba simply brings back sad memories and false hope. In her conclusion, Allan reveals that even though the traditional form of story-telling has ceased, the younger generations are educated about their history via TV and internet. She also cautions scholars to always appreciate the unique relationships that different generations necessarily have with their community's collective history.

Meanwhile, Bikmen looks at another angle of the implications of collective identity, exploring the role of one's grasp of his/her group-history (national, tribal, etc.)—i.e. collective memory—in his/her present attitudes towards out-groups. Her survey collected data from 82 Bosnian Muslim immigrants, and Bikmen discovered that overall, their attitudes were very unfavorable toward both Bosnians of Serb and Croat backgrounds. But ultimately, even though endorsement of narratives of past coexistence influenced how Bosnian Muslims felt about Croats (i.e. positively), it did not seem to influence how they felt about about Serbs (i.e. mostly negative feelings). Bikmen wraps up her report by encouraging further study of the role of collective memory in reconciliation, suggesting that refugees' successful integration in new host societies might alleviate some of their hostile feelings toward outgroups (back in their native countries).

1.3.3. d. Use/Improvement of narrative methodology. In this group of studies, scholars take on the task of critically examining how scholars can improve the methodology of narrative inquiry in refugee studies. Eastmond (2007) asserts that researchers should remember that

narratives are not "truths," but rather "a dynamic interplay between life, experience, and story." Helff (2009) writes on the distinct and precarious nature of the refugee narrative as a genre in literature, and Lustig and Tennakoon (2008) investigate the efficacy of the methods of story-telling and art in treating refugee children's trauma-related mental illnesses.

Eastmond's essay reviews a myriad of past studies and theoretical formulations on narrative inquiry in forced migration research. And in virtually all of the studies and formulations he looks at, narrative plays unique roles—as a tool with which individuals and societies can actively understand their experiences and solve problems; as a way to affirm one's legitimate position in a group, era, or place; or even as an apparatus for justice in the courts of law. In all these applications, the concept of "truth" in narrative is very precarious. But regardless of the difficulty or tensions that arise from the use of narrative methodology, Eastmond in the end affirms its efficacy. Since we can start with a working assumption that "truth" is not an issue in the methodology, we then have the freedom—or even the *obligation*—to use narrative analysis as much and as best we can, so as to give voice to "refugees' stories," which are often nowadays "not deemed relevant or credible or, increasingly, not heard at all" (p. 261). Another working assumption that narrative methodologists can bear in mind is that the concept of "T/truth" is socially constructed, and interpretations of the truth will vary. Hence one must look at how ideas of truth are used by individuals in various examples to understand what "truth" is and what "truth" does.

In a way, the (2004) autobiography by Mende Nazer clearly encapsulates the issues laid out it the above paragraph. Helff (2009) thus tries to break down "the text and extratextual facts" of the biography, showing the clash between refugee narratives (as a genre in literature) and "the need to perform refugee identities" (p. 331). Nazer, a Sudanese refugee, had become a slave of a

Sudanese diplomat in the UK. After the publishing of her autobiography, a public outcry saved her from deportation. But without questioning or reducing the misery of her life story, Helff discusses the tensions that are borne in the presentation of refugee's life-stories as autobiographies or even as verbal narratives, testimonies, etc. in venues such as immigration interviews and courts of law. Refugees end up being essentialized and stripped of their individuality and subtlety as human beings, as they are expected to be the poor, suffering, needy individuals that deserve the protection of well-off (and other) countries as dictated by international law. Overall thus, Helff's argument for the need to view refugee narratives as a distinct slightly-fictional genre can help us to learn more "about the 'closed system' of asylum in host countries, than about the actual 'subjects in discourse'." (p. 344)

The last study in this theme (Narrative and Methodology) is especially unique for two reasons. The first reason is that out of all the studies in this project's literature review, it is the most medically and psychiatrically oriented, and the second reason is that it is also the only meta-study in the true sense. Lustig and Tennakoon (2008) study the efficacy of art and narrative approaches in treating child-refugees' trauma-related mental illnesses. Three of advantages they ascribe to the use of narrative approaches are, its 1) "deeper understanding of patterns of distress not captured by psychiatric nosology," 2) "A more comprehensive understanding of a timeline of events," and 3) "The opportunity to allow child refugees themselves to identify sources of stress and support, as opposed to an a priori assumption of factors that may or may not be applicable to the populations to the populations [being] studied." (p. 570) The authors chose 14 studies that in one way or another served to 1) simply "generate content" (p. 571) or reveal 2) study the efficacy of the use of narrative to alleviate trauma, and 3) to focus on particular narratives to evaluate "the impact on trauma." (p. 571) The authors conclude that there is a need for more research into the

effect of the identity and feelings of the scholars who collect, process, analyze and disseminate narratives. They also question the precise benefits that can accrue from either having survivors directly publicize their stories vs. someone doing it for them, and they wonder if they there's an ideal time-frame within which it is best to collect child-refugees' narratives.

1.3.3. e. Perception of Diaspora and Collective Memory. The final theme in this part of the literature-review includes two studies, i.e. by Conrad (2006), and Kim (2013). For the most part, most authors—including many referenced throughout the earlier part of this literature-review—tend to cover the topics of Diasporic Identity and Collectivity in tandem with others.

Conrad's thesis is that the Eritrean diaspora is "the main site of negotiating 'official' and 'unofficial' Eritrean national memory" (p. 252). For context, she first gives a brief contemporary history of the nation of Eritrea, including its violent struggle for independence from Ethiopia, and the main rebel group that led that fight, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). But following independence and the fissures that led to a breakup of the original EPLF, the "People's Front for Democracy and Justice" (PFDJ)—the party in power and victorious faction of the defunct EPLF— fostered a counter-hegemonic national myth and ethos of ideas such as "unity," and "sacrifice." And yet, much of the Eritrean diaspora around the world did not buy into this new national mythology, and have continued to contest that project. Conrad concludes by remarking that albeit Malkki's (1995) study, which gave us a glimpse of the dangers of adopting false and totalizing national myths, the PFDJ and the opposition have remained in a standoff to-date, with no end in sight to their contestations of history and identity.

Also regarding nationalism and totalization, Kim (2013) writes about what she calls "border people's narratives," in this case, the autobiographies of North Korean refugees in South Korea. Beyond the contradictions of their lives as expressed in their own words such as "guilt

and appreciation," "anger and sorrow," "nostalgia and assimilation," and "hope and disappointment;" (p. 523) North Korean refugees' autobiographies transcend time and place, and they reveal a people who have an agency to assert and who refuse to be essentialized. In North Korea, they were fed a propaganda that painted South Korea and America as evil places filled with doom, and in South Korea, they come face to face with a capitalist lifestyle that they say can sometimes feel soulless. Towards the end of her report, Kim discusses the different ways that mass conflict survivors have been known to deal with trauma (i.e. keeping quiet about the past, discussing it widely, or even the occasional amnesia caused by extreme suffering). She asserts that the fact that Korean refugees tend to have nostalgia for their past lives is not as incongruous as we might think. In the present, they try to make meaning of their past suffering, hence the nostalgia, as well as the occasional idealization of their past spartan lives in North Korea.

1.3.4 Journalists & Other Mass Media Commentators' Representation of Refugee Stories

One of the topics that has been studied in depth by mass media scholars such as Entman (1993) and McCombs (2004) via the theory of framing, is the question of how various issues, events, and people are portrayed in the media. Some scholars such as Witteborn (2004, 2005, 2007), and to a limited extent McKinnon (2008) and Seu (2003) have specifically applied that question to refugees (i.e. how do journalists and other mass media participants portray refugees?).

Still, it is very challenging to establish a unanimous or consistent set of answers to the above question, as the situations and conflicts that spawn refugees are unique across time and space. Narrowing it down to Rwanda, one can confidently state a few common characteristics of journalists'/mass-media commentators' traditional coverage of the commemoration of the Rwandan genocide and its aftermath. For instance, a preliminary analysis of two NY Times

news articles from April (by Hugo) and May (by Kulish), and an opinion column from June (by Brooks) of this year show the following commonalities:

- The tendency to (over)simplify the cause of the genocide as enmity between Tutsis and Hutus with inadequate tribute to other responsible factors,
- Amazement at the reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, and the resilience and revival of Rwandan survivors and the society-at-large, and
- Subjective interpretations of commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides.

In this study, I will specifically study this issue in detail using critical discourse analysis, contrasting the themes that arise from that focus with those from the narrative analysis of refugees' own discussions of their genocide and post-genocide experiences.

1.4 Dissertation Title and Research Questions

1.5.1 Dissertation Working Title:

Narratives & Discourses of Rwandan Former Refugees & Genocide Survivors

In the USC-Shoah Archive & Western (US, UK, Italy, Canada) Newspapers

1.5.2. a Primary Research Questions:

I. How is sensemaking and resilience expressed in the narratives and discourses of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors?

II. What are the differences between the ways Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors (FRGS) tell their own stories, and the way other commentators tell or talk about their stories in the media?

1.5.2. b Secondary Questions:

I. Is Rwandan FRGS' sensemaking of the events of the genocide and their strategies of resilience necessarily affected by elements such as (among many others) societal gender

normativity, their socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal disposition, and religiosity/spirituality? If so, how?

II. Do (non-Rwandan FRGS) mass media commentators' retellings of genocide survival and resilience highlight their own (Western) coherence systems and ideologies?

1.5 Methodology of Research (Narrative & Critical Discourse) Data Acquisition, Processing & Analysis

The research methodology to be used in the investigation of the above questions and hypotheses is divided into two main parts, to be used on two sets of research data. In the first part of the analysis, narrative analysis methods will be applied to four individual survivors'/refugees' narratives from the USC-Shoah archive. In the second part of the analysis, critical discourse analysis will be used respectively on a corpus of ten news articles about Rwandan FRGSs from a variety of Western (US, UK, Italian, Canadian) newspapers.

The methods—i.e. narrative analyses—applied to the USC-Shoah archive individual survivors'/refugees' narratives are tailored to specifically analyze the sensemaking and resilience symbols of Rwandan FRGSs, while the critical discourse analysis methods applied to the news article corpus will highlight the coherence systems and ideologies with which the articles' Western authors retell/interpret Rwandan FRGS' stories.

As of July 2014, preliminary video analysis & summary has been done for all USC-Shoah archive videos, and one USC-Shoah video narrative and one newspaper article have each been analyzed respectively using the above-mentioned methods, i.e. narrative analysis for the USC-Shoah video and critical discourse analysis for the newspaper article. Throughout the remaining parts of this methodology section below, I will give the details of the specific methods of analysis to be used in all the research data of this dissertation. In my detailed explanations of

these analysis methods, I will provide examples from the aforementioned two analysis samples already completed, i.e. one USC-Shoah archive video (of Esperance Kaligirwa's narrative) and one newspaper article (of Valentina Iribagiza's genocide survival story, which was also retold on the PBS TV program and website by Fergal Keane of the London Times).

Table 1.5:
Methodology, Data & Processing/Analysis Timeline

METHODS/ ANALYSIS:	**DATA (USC-Shoah Videos & News Articles) & STATUS / ANTICIPATED COMPLETION DATES:** **Key:** **√ = DONE** **1 = Sept 2014** **2 = Oct 2014** **3 = Nov 2014** **4 = Dec 2014** **5 = Jan 2015**									
NARRATIVE ANALYSIS			**Esperance Kaligirwa USC-Shoah Video**		**Arsene Nsabimana USC-Shoah Video**		**Daniel Ndamwizeye USC-Shoah Video**		**Freddy Mutanguha USC-Shoah Video**	
1. Preliminary			√		√		√		√	
2. Transcription & Coding			√		1		2		3	
3. Symbol List			√		1		2		3	
4. Other (3) Analytic Frameworks			√		1		2		3	
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	***Article 1:***	***Article 2:***	***Article 3:***	***Article 4:***	***Article 5:***	***Article 6:***	***Article 7:***	***Article 8:***	***Article 9:***	***Article 10:***
1. Gen. Features	4	4	4	√	4	5	5	5	5	5
2. Gee's 6x7	4	4	4	√	4	5	5	5	5	5
3. Other Features	4	4	4	√	4	5	5	5	5	5

1.6 Narrative Analysis Methodology

In this part of the research analysis, four specific methods will be applied to the USC-Shoah archive narratives, namely: preliminary video analysis/summary; non-verbatim segment summary transcription; verbatim transcription of select segment sets; and identification of specific instances of sensemaking and resilience expression by FRGSs.

1.6.1 Preliminary Video Analysis/Summary (Completed as of July 2014)

In this beginning stage of the narrative data processing and analysis, all four videos in the USC-Shoah archive that are being analyzed were systematically watched and summarized in a "pre-transcript" sheet. This enabled me to familiarize myself with the data, and to get an early feel of some of the themes in it. Also, the "pre-transcript" sheet that I generated from this stage of the processing/analysis comes in handy in the segment-transcription and verbatim-transcription stages. By looking at the "pre-transcript" sheet, I always have a rough idea of where I am in the story-arc of the narrator; I am thus able to look out for segments that I already know are wont to generate more-than-usual poignant themes. Below is an excerpt from the preliminary video analysis / summary of Esperance Kaligirwa's narrative.

Example/Excerpt 1.6.1:

Parts of Esperance Kaligirwa's Section From Preliminary Analysis/Summary

Esperance Kaligirwa

General Impressions:

- **Her disposition is very sunny, outgoing. Very chit-chatty.**
- **Her family's profile—similar to Arsene Nsabimana's above, is also one of a rich family that was an obvious target during the genocide. Her statement about feeling guilty because of growing up in a well-to-do family among poor folk, is similar to a sentiment I've felt before myself.**
- **The harrowing feature of this story is her description of the hopelessness of waiting for death; soldiers/militias coming to either kill or loot; her sister's supposed rape; being taken for slaughter by the militia (looking for a pit to throw them in) etc.**
- **BUT, the story is also a good study in contrasts in the way her family was treated by neighbors and others who knew them and were repaying them for her father's kindness. The same people who would go and kill other Tutsis.**
- **Her story is also dramatic and makes for a suspenseful—albeit tragic—drama, with a few plot-twists here and there—similar in that regard to Freddy Mutanguha's.**
- **PLEASE NOTE: For the purposes of this study, her testimony is priceless**

- There were a total of 13 people in the house. Siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.
- Hutu friends would bring provisions coz dad had been kind to people. But, those good Samaritans would then go and kill other Tutsis.
- Militias came on June 11th to kill brother, couldn't find him so they took them. Were looking for a pit to bury them in but couldn't find one in the neighborhood, coz they (the militias) weren't locals and thus did not know the area.
- Esperance and her family were about to be killed, but a group of Hutus came and pleaded for mercy on their behalf
- Eventually that day, the militias relented but promised to come back.
- The next day, a grenade was thrown at their house, but luckily, no one was hurt, just 1 of the family dogs.
- UN vehicles would pass by but never helped
- At some point, a Hutu distant relative came and took cousins but left Esperance and others [Note by Seif: I'm not sure what I meant here; did the relative take the cousins to be killed, or to rescue them?]
- A couple of days later, Intarahamwe militia came, and Esperance and some siblings and their mum hid in one room, and others went elsewhere in the house. They locked the door. The Interahamwe came and tried to open it in vain. Esperance heard one of their neighbors say, never mind, this door is locked. Apparently, he'd seen them go in and was trying to protect them.
- Esperance heard one of the Interahamwe say, "Why have you stayed alive this long?" and took 5 relatives—siblings and others. That was on June 11th.
- Esperance and others stayed in that room for that night.
- The neighbor who had rescued them found them a place to hide. Esperance and the mum stayed together, and 2 of her brothers went to hide in an orphanage. 1 brother went with another family member—he was eight years old at the time.
- The man taking care of Esperance and her mum was Interahamwe. He'd spend the day away from home—probably on killing sprees—then would come home at night. Took good care of them, said "Your dad was a good man."
- Later, Esperance moved into a family friend's house, but mum stayed at the Interahamwe man's house.
- A couple of weeks later, the RPF took over Kigali.
- They were told to go to St. Andrew's (a church [?]), met her mum there, had a happy reunion.

- Brothers also reunited with her and mum. Mum had actually been walking towards Congo refugee camp with Interahamwe man's family, but got tired and decided to return to Kigali.
- Brother wore a dress so as to survive, as boys would be killed first. His face looked like a girl's face.
- After the genocide, Esperance was traumatized for the 1st three years—didn't want to stay in Rwanda.
- Recap of emotions during near-death experience: "You're just numb…you just say, 'just kill me.' "
- Did not try to change her identity (as a Tutsi)
- Recap; reaction upon seeing mum: Hugging, laughing, crying, joking ("you stink!")
- Their house was looted, but apart from the grenade damage (minor), the structure was intact. Mum rents out that house for money. They had/have 2 or 3 houses.

1.6.2 Non-Verbatim Segment Transcription

(*Please Note: in the USC-Shoah Archive, 1 segment = 1 minute*)

After the above-described preliminary video summary/analysis, I will proceed to carry out a detailed summary transcription of all the segments of each video narrative. While this analysis stage does not entail a verbatim transcription of the questions and answers in each segment, all questions and answers are summarized thoroughly and clearly so as for a reader to clearly understand the gist of what is being asked and of the response given. It should be noted that at this stage of the processing/analysis process, verbatim transcription would result in an unwieldy transcript. For instance, Esperance Kaligirwa's video segment transcript came out to 71 pages double/multiple-spaced; a verbatim transcript would have been around 40 pages single-spaced.

But before executing the last stage of my narrative analysis process—i.e. identification of specific instances of sensemaking and resilience expressions, I will have to complete verbatim transcription of a sizable sample of segments (roughly 20—30/40 minutes for each of the four narrative videos). In any case, even at the video segment transcription stage, I often end up writing the verbatim words uttered by the interviewer and narrator, especially if I come across a

question and answer that clearly highlights important themes that I would like to analyze later.

As of July 2014, I have completed this stage for only Esperance Kaligirwa's narrative.

Example/Excerpt 1.6.2
Part of Esperance Kaligirwa's (EK) Video Narrative Transcript Sheet
Segments: 54 to 57, and 63 to 66 (Taken From Pages 34 to 42)
Please Note: The full transcript is item No. 3 in the index.

Segment: 54
Time: 53:00—54:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

For one week after the start of the genocide, no one came to bother them. But they didn't have food. The house servant was a Tutsi so even he couldn't go outside to get food. Good Samaritans would bring food.

Segment: 55
Time: 54:00—55:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Parents and older siblings would starve and let the younger kids eat.
A dramatic change after having plenty to eat before the start of the genocide.
No water either. No showers.
After two weeks, soldiers came in a group of 5, "searching for a woman who was hiding" in their house.

Segment: 56
Time: 55:00—56:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They took one of their cars.
After one week, they came back, took another car.

Segment: 57
Time: 56:00—57:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They kept coming and taking things, till there was nothing left to take. They then threatened to rape the women.
At 1 point, they took her sister for 5 hours. Esperance and others didn't ask what they did to her.
It was…I don't know how to describe it… Sometimes you'd wish they'd just come and kill you instead of killing you slowly—just get over with it.

Segment: 63
Time: 01:02—01:03

Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Militias came on June 11th to kill brother, couldn't find him—he had hidden in the chicken houses behind the main house.
So they took them.

Segment: 64
Time: 01:03—01:04
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Were looking for a pit to bury them in but couldn't find one in the neighborhood, coz they (the militias) weren't locals and thus did not know the area.
They made them line up.

Segment: 65
Time: 01:04—01:05
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1--Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They said they were going to use 1 gunshot to kill them. I remember I was so afraid I said I'm not going to watch my mother die, I'll just go get killed first. Esperance and her family were about to be killed, but a group of Hutus came and pleaded for mercy on their behalf.

Segment: 66
Time: 01:05—01:06
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Eventually, the militias relented but asked the Hutu pleaders to let them take at least 1 person, the old man—a relative that was staying with Esperance's family. "We have to kill at least one person, we can't go without killing at least one person." Again, the Hutu pleaders refused.
They left but promised to come back but said they'll go look for another Tutsi to kill that night.

1.6.3 Verbatim Transcription and Identification of Specific Instances of Sensemaking and Resilience Expression

In order to carry out this activity, I will have to first choose at least three sets of segments from each video that contain elongated speech-turns by narrators, in which they tell stories or talk about past experiences, but in a format that matches Labov's definition of a narrative.

According to Labov (1967), narration can be defined as the act of "…recounting past events in which the order of narrative clauses matches the order of events as they occurred." (p. 546). The essence of a Labovian narrative is the presence of "*temporal juncture* between two independent clauses." (p. 547) This quality exists between two independent clauses, if the reflection of a past sequence of events is dependent on the present corresponding sequence of clauses referring to each event. He enumerated five parts into which we can divide a strip of verbal content classifiable as a narrative, namely 1) the abstract; a summary of a story in one or a few more clauses, 2) the orientation; the setting, characters, and other defining aspects of the situation from which the "reportable events" unfolded, 3) the complicating action; the trigger in the sequence of events that warrants being resolved, 4) the resolution; i.e. of the preceding complicating action, and 5) the coda, which indicates that the speaker is ending her/his story.

Throughout this narration, the speaker might pause reporting the actual sequence of events so as to remark on, muse about, emphasize, or otherwise reprocess what she/he has already reported. This "evaluation" during the narrative serves to justify why the speaker should be listened to, and it answers the "so what" that has either already been posed, or might be posed in response to the narration. Not all narrative strips are fully formed into all the above six parts, and different narratives have different levels of complexity in terms of the divisions or sub-divisions of the above parts that they might have.

After choosing the appropriate segments that fit the above definition, I will transcribe them verbatim. As aforementioned, the total number of minutes that will be transcribed verbatim per video is between 20 to 40 minutes (please note: in the USC-Shoah video format, one video segment = one minute). For instance, below are the segments I chose to transcribe verbatim from Esperance Kaligirwa's video, a total of 26 minutes. Further below is part of the excerpt of the

second Labovian segment set from below, i.e. "First Execution Survival." From these verbatim transcripts, specific instances of the FRGSs' expression of sensemaking and resilience will be demarcated, classified, and explicated—i.e. what are the characteristics of each method of sensemaking and resilience?

Example/Excerpt 1.6.3. a.:
Esperance Kaligirwa's (EK) Labovian Segments
Please Note: This list can also be found in the index, as item No. 4.

EK Labovian Segments
I.E.: The Segments with **<u>the most important</u>** Labovian narratives in EK's transcript—<u>to be transcribed verbatim</u>

- **First Two Weeks of Genocide:**

  <u>Video Segments: Segment 50 to Segment 57</u>

- **First Execution Survival:**

  <u>Video Segments: Segment 62 to Segment 69</u>

- **Second Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion:**

  <u>Video Segments: Segment 71 to Segment 83</u>

Example/Excerpt 1.6.3. b.:
Part of Esperance Kaligirwa's Verbatim Transcript
Please Note: The full version of the verbatim transcript is in the index, as item No. 5.

First Execution Survival
Segments: Segment 62 to Segment 69

152. I: So what happened after these two weeks in the house?
153. EK: So after, so…we stayed in the house…
154. Really longer because…really the genocide happened maybe, in like one month
155. They had been killed every, like, like almost everybody body
156. So for us, we stayed in the house for almost two months
157. Because…they come…they came to kill us in June…I think June 11th
158. And the war ended in July, July 4th
159. So…so we stayed longer
160. …than other people
161. So but then…like I said they used to come and like…just to…get stuff
162. If they didn't—like I said we didn't have any more stuff to give
163. And then, the next time…they came
164. Soldiers—every time—soldiers…not Interahamwe, but soldiers
165. I: Hm…
166. **EK:** With—guns so—this time…they came, and then they said they were looking for my brother—my old brother
167. That they wanna kill him
168. But my brother—went hiding, like we had like a um—chicken, like chicken we had a house for chickens
169. So he went to hiding
170. In that house
171. But we didn't know where he went, really we didn't know
172. Because every time they would come we were like running around
173. Like, everyone would run…so we didn't know where he went
174. So we said, we don't know where he went
175. They searched for him, they couldn't find him
176. And then they said, you know what, now we're going to kill you guys
177. We have to come with us
178. So…they…we were like maybe…12 people
179. They say we have to go
180. They were looking for—a hole
181. To—you know, like they had those big holes
182. They would put people in that holes
183. But because they didn't know the neighborhood they were
184. They were coming from somewhere else
185. They didn't know where the hole were
186. So they said we have to go look for those holes
187. They went they couldn't find holes
188. We—we walk for like um…maybe five minutes
189. And then, they stopped us they said you know what we have to line
190. We have—you have to line ***gestures, making a line***
191. Like…like a line
192. And then, we gonna use one gunshot to kill you guys…just one…

193. I remember I was so…so afraid I like you know what…
194. I'm not even gonna watch my mother died or my siblings die
195. I'm just gonna go in the first—first line…
196. I'm just gonna be killed…first
197. …and then…we lined
198. And then all of the sudden
199. These people came and then they said
200. You know what these people they're not en—enemies they are
201. Really good people you don't have to kill them
202. We'll give you anything you want
203. They were Hutu
204. Really don't kill these people they are really nice
205. They say no, we have to kill them
206. And then we walked for like two minutes
207. And then they were like you know what we have to kill you guys
208. And then these people follow us
209. And said you know what these people are really nice
210. They don't even go to politics or anything
211. They are really nice, don't kill them
212. And then, all of the sudden they say, ok, we're not gonna kill you guys
213. But, you know what, just give us this—you know I told you
214. This old man who was at the house
215. Just give us this old man we're gonna kill him
216. Coz we can't go we can't go without killing anybody
217. This night, we can't go…there's no way
218. We have to kill him
219. And then these people are like, no way
220. Just leave them alone they're really nice and then
221. All of the sudden they say you know what
222. Okay, we're just gonna leave you guys
223. But, we'll come back
224. We'll come back anyway
225. And then they said, you know we just gonna find a Tutsi to kill tonight
226. There's no way you're not gonna go tonight not killing any Tutsi
227. And then they left us
228. So we went—we went home
229. I: H-hm…

1.6.4 Interpretation of Narrative Analysis Results

After completing all the above series of analyses on the USC-Shoah narrative video data, I will embark on interpreting the results of that analysis, and this might arguably be the hardest part of the dissertation-writing process. Even though I intend to utilize a good number of the valuable guidelines that have been provided over the years by narrative/qualitative methodologists including Riessman (1993), Gee (2011), and Lindlof and Taylor (2002); one could argue that the most relevant question any scholar might successfully use to sum up the goal of research interpretation is: "What do my data analysis results actually *mean*?"

In my case, I believe the task of determining the appropriate meanings from the analysis results that I will have to report, not to mention the connections between those meanings and my stated research questions, will have been made much easier by the last part of the final analysis activity described above, i.e. the identification of specific instances of sensemaking and resilience expression.

But even then; in the end, I will have to clearly and convincingly answer the following questions:

- Coherence in these narratives =_____?
- Resilience in these narratives =_____?
- What are the answers to my secondary questions?
    - For instance, what are the specific roles of each (hypothesized) underlying element/variable, i.e. gender, socioeconomic status, social networks, personal disposition and or religion?

Overall, I am confident that by the end of my analysis process on all the USC-Shoah archive videos, I will be able to appropriately answer all the above questions.

1.7 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Methodology

1.7.1 Principle Works on CDA To Be Used (More Will Be Consulted Later As Needed)

According to Gee (2011), discourse analysis is used to theorize and deliberately study how people "say things, do things, and be things" using language (Gee 2011, P. 3). Even though we might be familiar with the denotative meanings of words, we can only make the best use of language by being intimately familiar with the goals the language is being used to achieve in particular circumstances. The above realization (i.e. that language is used to say, do, and be things in particular circumstances) necessarily means that language is also related to the distribution of "social goods"; "[W]hen we speak or write, we always risk being seen as a 'winner' or 'loser' in a given game or practice. Furthermore, we can speak or write so as to accept others as 'winners' or 'losers'…we can both gain or lose and give or deny social goods." (Gee 2011, P. 7) These "social goods," Gee contends, are the crux of politics; the contestation in society for wealth, "status, power, and acceptance…" (Gee 2011, P. 7)

For Gee, an "ideal" discourse analysis (Gee 2011, P. 121) involves using "six tools of inquiry" on "seven building tasks…a total of 42 questions." (Gee 2011, P. 121) The tools of inquiry are: 1) situated meanings, 2) social languages, 3) figured worlds, 4) intertextuality, 5) Discourses, and 6) Conversations, and the building tasks are 1) Significance, 2) Practices (Activities), 3) Identities, 4) Relationships, 5) Politics, 6) Connections, and 7) Sign Systems and Knowledge.

Thus for instance; using the tools of inquiry on the first three building tasks, I can ask of a Rwanda genocide story:

- "*How are situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, and Conversations being used…*<u>to build relevance or significance for things</u>

[and events—the Rwandan genocide in particular] and people [e.g. survivors] in context?"

- "*How are situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, and Conversations being used…*to enact a practice (activity) or practices (activities) in context?"
- And, "*How are situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, and Conversations being used…*to enact and depict [the] identities…[of survivors of the Rwandan genocide?]

(Questions adapted from Gee 2011, P. 121; italics, words in brackets, and underlined text added by this author).

Gee asserts that the internal and external validity of discourse analyses is built using four tools, namely: "1. *Convergence*…2. *Agreement*…3. *Coverage*…4. *Linguistic Details*…" (P. 123) By convergence, Gee refers to the rhetorical and logical strength, and similarity between the answers to all the 42 questions that come from applying his aforementioned "six tools of inquiry" on "seven building tasks." (p. 121) Agreement refers to whether the "native speakers" of the social languages agree with the answers, and whether there is similarity between one researcher's analysis and the analyses of other researchers and other methods.

In his discussion of the coverage tool, Gee is referring to whether or not the answers to the 42 questions can be applied to discourse analyses of similar topics. For instance, would another discourse analyst be able to apply my answers to the questions regarding one particular Rwandan former refugee's story, to another (different Rwandan former refugee's story)? And finally, linguistic detail comparison refers to the various precise similarities and differences of form/function roles of language, and the 42 discourse analysis answers.

Unlike Gee's heavy emphasis on mainly oral and some print texts, Machin and Mayr (2012) focus on multimodal discourse analysis, i.e. with a focus on verbal along with pictorial and other texts (e.g. websites). They also use a critical perspective to introduce the concepts of discourse analysis. From the beginning, they point out that one of the criticisms of linguistics and discourse analysis was that there was an insufficient focus on "the nature of the link between language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1992)" (P. 4). The authors thus set out to provide a framework with which this problem can be solved, exploring among other topics: lexical fields and hidden meanings (and the role of genres in texts), the semiotic processes with which the ideas and words of speakers (and thus the speakers themselves) can be re-presented, and the various strategies that authors use to represent action.

In discussing all these processes and strategies, Machin and Mayr's contention is that authors often use them to persuade audiences to think or view particular ideas and ideologies, actions, and persons, as good or bad, just or unjust, etc. They thus provide examples from various news publications whose editors have clearly made use of the above techniques, e.g. with text and pictures depicting American and British soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan as valiant warriors fighting debased savage terrorists, or former prime ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown looking troubled or defensive, etc. The authors also use two pictures from news magazines that are marketed towards upper middle-class women (*Cosmopolitan* and *Marie-Claire*) to demonstrate how editors use images with models and artificial work settings to depict the idealized and impractical roles that are expected of the modern working woman, including "a particular kind of agency that is suffused with women's ability to seduce and the glamour of fashion, and to signify power" (P. 53).

A lot of the techniques with which editors and authors make and convey meaning lean on the concept of "salience." Machin and Mayr define this as the quality that uses "certain features in compositions…to stand out, to draw our attention [and or] to foreground certain meanings" (P. 54). Specifically, salience is achieved by using elements such as potent cultural symbols (e.g. a stethoscope around the neck to depict a physician), size—i.e. some things or people in images are made to look bigger than others, color, tone, focus (i.e. clarity or lack thereof) and foregrounding, and overlapping.

The final reference text on discourse analysis that will inform my thinking in this study is by Jorgensen and Phillips (2012). The authors thoroughly analyze three major approaches to the theory and practice of discourse analysis, namely Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, Fairclough's version of critical discourse analysis, and the discursive psychology approach by authors such as Edwards (1996), and Gergen (1985, 1994a, 1994b).

For a bold articulation of the underlying structure throughout all societal and identity-related meanings, Laclau and Mouffe encourage an ongoing examination of "*how* the structure, in the form of discourses, is constituted and changed." (P. 30) Moreover, Laclau and Mouffe were inspired by Antonio Gramsci's critique of the base/superstructure model of Marxism, and his emphasis on the concept of hegemony as the major vehicle through which the consciousness of workers (under the oppression of capitalists) is kept from progressing. Meanwhile; whereas it is indubitable that "reality" is composed of physical objects, those objects "do not possess meaning in themselves; meaning is something we ascribe to them through discourse." (P. 35) This fact in turn gives rise to the contest of politics. Any time we collectively (but almost never without consensus) ascribe meaning to a social concept, we are excluding other meanings, and

thus by default the desires of some individuals. But in a hegemonic system; with the use of the concept of "objectivity," those in power can prevent the oppressed from contesting meanings.

In their analysis of Fairclough's version of critical discourse analysis, Jorgensen and Phillips first outline some commonalities between his (Fairclough's) own and the other versions of critical discourse analysis (P. 63). Overall, Fairclough's approach can be summarized into three major points, namely: his emphasis on actual spoken and written texts as the objects of study, "a macro-sociological analysis," and "a micro-sociological, interpretative tradition." (P. 66) Fairclough's conception of discourse views language as vital in the enactment of social practices. It also recognizes the role of discourse/discourse**s** in particular specialized (e.g. but not limited to "professional") settings, i.e. among doctors, lawyers, accountants, etc.

Finally, Jorgensen and Philips analyze the discursive psychology approach of discourse analysis. They introduce the approach by emphasizing that it arose in reaction to the social psychological cognitivist paradigm, which privileged cognitive processes in the explanation of social behavior. Whereas cognitivism asserts that spoken and written texts are the by-products of our mental representations of the social world, discursive psychology conceives of spoken and written texts as key materials in the construction of the social world. Within the field of discursive psychology, there are three main strands, namely the poststructuralist perspective (using Foucouldian theory), the interactionist perspective (which uses conversation analysis and ethnomethodology), and a combination of the above two strands.

Unlike the popular American conception of the self as a stable, monolithic entity, discursive psychology "conceives of the self as made up of multiple, discursively constituted identities." (P. 109) The poststructuralist strand views identities as the products of discourse subject positions; the interactionist strand views identities as the [meta]self-constructed resources

that individuals use to legitimize their positions; and the third strand combines the latter two conceptions. But although the theories of discursive psychological processes inform my thinking in this summary, they are not central to the dissertation or to the analysis of mass media coverage of refugee stories.

1.7.2 Recap/Synthesis

Gee (2011), Machin and Mayr (2012), and Jorgensen and Philips (2012) all provide useful conceptions in the application of the theory and practice of discourse analysis. Gee's approach provides a comprehensive framework of critically examining the roles of discourse texts (both spoken, written, and in other forms) via his tools of inquiry vs. building tasks. Machin and Mayr provide us with systematic ways to uncover lexical fields and hidden meanings, and an understanding of the semiotic process of ideational re-presentation, as well as the processes with which others' actions can be depicted. Finally, Jorgensen and Philips give us a particular way with which to examine Marxism and hegemony in the unequal power relations that come to light in the mass media pieces. The most important contribution from this triad of theoretical and methodological guides is the highlighting of the flexibility with which identities and selves create and deploy discourses tactically and strategically. One might be able to use the guides to design a framework with which to elucidate consequential general/structural and particular features in stories distributed by mass media, features that might influence our understandings and opinions of the roles of particular people in events, and who deserves blame or praise based on said roles in the events.

1.7.3 Description of Specific CDA Framework to Be Applied, i.e. General Distinctive Features of Stories, Gee's "6x7" Formula, & Other Features of Stories That Can Be Revealed via Discourse Analytical and Close Reading Methods

Based on the above CDA synthesis, I have designed and tested a critical discourse analysis framework that will be used in this dissertation. This framework consists of three tools, namely:

1) Elucidation of general distinctive features of a story,

2) The use of Gee's 6 x 7 formula, and

3) Listing other features that can be revealed via discourse analytical and other close reading methods.

The CDA framework will be applied on a total of 10 newspaper articles from Western (US, UK, Italian, Canadian) newspapers. Below is a table with some details of the articles to be analyzed, and further below in the next section, I report the findings of a sample analysis I carried out using the framework.

Table 1.7:
Details of CDA Corpus Articles

No.:	Author, Source & Country:	Date:	Name of Subject:	Title of Article:
1.	Reilly Dowd; Aljazeera USA; USA	04/08/2014	Jason Nshimye	*Fromhellto'ahappylife': ATutsi survivor's escape fromgenocide*
2.	Bob Simon; CBS (60 Mins); USA	06/28/2007	Immaculee Illibagiza	*Rwandan Genocide Survivor Recalls Horror*
3.	Lillia Callum-Penso; Greenville News; USA	04/14/2014	Jonathan Kubakundimana	*Survivor of genocide in Rwanda tells family's story*
4.*	Fergal Keane; Sunday Times; UK	1997	Valentina Iribagiza	*The Rwandan Girl Who Refused to Die*
5.	Fabiola Ortiz; IPS News; Italy	04/11/2014	Claudine Umuhoza	*Trauma Still Fresh for Rwanda's Survivors of Genocidal Rape*
6.	Amanda Wilk; Lehigh U. Campus Newspaper; USA	10/03/2013	Consolee Nishimwe	*Rwandan genocide survivor speaks on her personal experiences and recovery*
7.	Debbie Hovanasian; The Lowell Sun; USA	04/27/14	Claude Kaitare	*Never again: Survivor of Rwandan genocide tells his story to bring about understanding*
8.	Jason Strasiuso; AP/Toronto Star; Canada	04/06/2014	Alice Mukarurinda	*A killer and his victim: 20 years after Rwandan genocide, they're friends*
9.	Tiffany Crouse; UW Milwaukee Campus Newspaper; USA	04/09/2014	Gilbert Sezirahiga	*Rwandan Genocide Survivor Tells His Story*
10	Caroline Cornish; WCHS6 (Portland); USA	04/09/2014	Emmanuel Mungwarakarama	*Survivor of Rwandan Genocide tells his story*

***Analysis completed as of August 2014; see below for details.**

1.7.4 Application of CDA Framework to Fergal Keane's (PBS) Profile of Valentina Iribagiza

1.7.4. a. Introduction. The title of the story is "The Rwandan Girl Who Refused to Die." It had originally been published in the London Sunday Times newspaper, but was uploaded to the PBS Frontline website as part of a 1997 commemoration of the genocide; Frontline had also aired a documentary about Valentina, the main character of the Sunday Times story.

At the time of the genocide (April to July, 1994), Valentina was 13 years old, and she and her family were living in the village of Nyarubuye when the genocide broke out. Thereafter, they sought refuge in the compound of a nearby church but alas, the *Interahamwe* militia still pursued them there. They killed Valentina's parents and her brother; hacked the back of her head—leaving a deep gush, and cut off half of her right hand, leaving her for dead.

1.7.4. b. General Distinctive Features of the Story. Two of the most distinctive features of the Fergal Keane/PBS story are its use of a figuration of good vs. evil, and a set of indirect references to the similarity and difference of the Rwandan genocide vis-à-vis other genocides and conflicts.

Throughout the story, there's a general and consistent theme of good/innocent vs. evil, and it is crystal clear—according to the author—who is good/innocent (i.e. Valentina and other survivors) and who is evil (i.e. the *Interahamwe* militia and other killers). In fact; at the outset of the story, the author explicitly mentions that what happened to Valentina and others at Nyarubuye is evil incarnate:

> *In a few weeks I had witnessed brutality and evil on a terrifying scale. Nothing could have prepared me for the immensity of the killings or the hatred I encountered among those who had carried out the genocide.*

…

The story of what happened at the church of Nyarubuye is more than a straightforward commentary on humanity's capacity for evil. It is a very particular story about the cruelty inflicted upon children by adults, people who were their neighbours and whom they trusted.

Examples of the actions of the perpetrators at Nyarubuye that can be judged as evil include those in the following harrowing account:

She described what happened next: "First they asked people to hand over their money, saying they would spare those who paid. But after taking the money they killed them anyway. Then they started to throw grenades. I saw a man blown up in the air, in pieces, by a grenade. The leader said that we were snakes and that to kill snakes you had to smash their heads.

The killers moved into the terrified crowd of men, women and children, hacking and clubbing as they went. "If they found someone alive they would smash their heads with stones. I saw them take little children and smash their heads together until they were dead. There were children begging for pity but they killed them straight away," she told me. The killings took place over four days. At night the butchers rested and, guarding the perimeter so that nobody would escape.

And towards the end of the story, Keane talks about meeting one of killers "at the local prosecutor's office:"

As a parent I listened to Valentina's story with a sense of heartbreak. I marvelled at her courage but felt deep anger that his should happen to any child. It was difficult to keep those feelings in check when I confronted one of the butchers of Nyarubuye in the office

> *of the local prosecutor…Bagaruka, the grandfather who witnesses say was an enthusiastic killer, [and] had recently returned from Tanzania…"You have eight children, how in God's name can you help to kill a child?" I asked him.*

Bagaruka's answer to Keane at this juncture serves as an apt segue into the second aforementioned distinctive feature of this story, namely the paradoxical demonstration of the similarity and difference of the Rwandan genocide vis-à-vis other conflicts. His answer, i.e. "Our orders were to kill everyone"—is reminiscent of the common defense heard at the Nuremberg trials, "I was/we were just following orders." (King, 2002) Other similarities between the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust include a desire on the part of perpetrators to "cleanse" the country of a particular race once and for all (e.g. "the final solution" as referenced in both the Keane and holocaust accounts [as in Longerich, 2010]), and the occasional desire to steal the victims' property (Feliciano, 1997; Desforges, 1999).

Overall, the mass murder of almost a million Tutsis can be compared to that of Jews during the holocaust. The massacre that Valentina witnessed and survived at Nyarubuye took place shortly before or after various other similar massacres in places such as Gikondo, Gisenyi, and Butare province (Desforges, 1999), while some of the more famous Holocaust massacres took place at Auschwitz, Belzec, and Chelmno (Longerich, 2010).

And yet, it is clear that there are numerous differences between the Rwandan genocide and the Jewish holocaust. For instance; unlike the Nazi government in Germany, the Hutu government did not systematically gather up all Tutsis to be kept in camps before their murder. Rather, the Hutu government explicitly gave its endorsement and support to various militia to go throughout the country and kill the Tutsis they found in their villages or towns of residence (Desforges, 1999; Longerich, 2010).

It is also important to bear in mind that one of the major causes of the Rwandan genocide (arguably the most significant) was the exacerbation by the German and Belgian colonists of the Hutu vs. Tutsi division in the country (Mamdani, 2001), which this story doesn't mention. Thus, this genocide—and most if not all genocides and other conflicts—are necessarily caused by unique confluences of historical, social, and political factors. We should therefore be careful not to engage in reductionism as we try to figure out the causes of such events.

The final paradoxical similarity/difference between the Rwandan genocide and the Jewish holocaust lies in the voices of the survivors of each those events. From the Jewish holocaust, there are various famous survivor accounts such as those by Elie Wiesel (2006) and Primo Levi (1989). Similarly, there are various famous survivors' accounts from the Rwandan genocide, and these include the narratives of Paul Rusesabagina (2006), Immaculee Ilibagiza (2006), and Jacqueline Murekatete (2003). But whereas one can easily pinpoint such personalities and their accounts from both of the events, it is also easy to realize some of the distinctive features that can be located in both groups of accounts. For instance, the wider availability of resources among Jewish survivors—along with their higher levels of literacy compared to Rwandans, might explain the presence of more published survivor accounts of the Jewish holocaust vs. the Rwandan genocide.

And while I cannot knowledgeably discuss the gender dynamics of Jewish holocaust survivorship, a keen reader can notice the fact that numerous stories of the Rwandan genocide highlight the unique plight of women during, and after the genocide. For instance, one survivor told me during an interview that the Hutu militia would first pick out the young (above mid-teen ages) and strong-looking men to be killed during the early days of the genocide, before proceeding to other men and later, the women. There are thus numerous widows and orphans as

a result of that order of mass-murder, with the conceivable negative effects of that survivorship (e.g. trauma of watching loved ones killed, survivors' guilt, financial hardships, etc.). And as discussed above in reference to the Zraly, Rubin, and Mukamana (2013) study, rape was widely used as a potent weapon during the genocide. Thus, the survivors of that abuse continue to deal with its consequences today including HIV infections, and unwanted pregnancies.

1.7.4. c. Gee's "6x7" Formula. As aforementioned, in discourse analysis, Gee (2011) recommends the use of "six tools of inquiry" (situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, Conversations) on "seven building tasks" (Significance, Practices (Activities), Identities, Relationships, Politics, Connections, and Sign Systems and Knowledge). Thus, in regard to the PBS story about Valentina, we ask, "*How are situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, and Conversations being used…*

- To build relevance or *significance* for things [and events—the Rwandan genocide in particular] and people in context?
- To enact a *practice (activity) or practices (activities)* in context?
- To enact and depict *identities*?
- To build and sustain (or change or destroy) *social relationships*?
- To create, distribute, or withhold *social goods* or to construe particular distributions of *social goods* as "good" or "acceptable" or not?
- To make things and people *connected or relevant* to each other or irrelevant to or disconnected from each other?
- To privilege or disprivilege different *sign systems* (language, social languages, other sorts of symbol systems) and ways of knowing?" (P. 121—122)

Gee's formula helps us yield a robust array of features with which this story accomplishes its goals. For instance, in regard to ***significance***, Keane deploys a number of terms and images—both via description and with photos—to convey Valentina's post-genocide misery. One particularly potent way of conveying his empathy is via the use of the words "*As a parent I listened to Valentina's story with a sense of heartbreak…*" In other words, he is thinking aloud via writing and asking the reader; "what if this was your child?" ***Significance*** is also built using the oft-told cause and of the genocide, and how it started:

> *It began on a Friday afternoon in the middle of April. For days the Tutsis of Nyarubuye had sensed an impending disaster. They were aware that elsewhere in the country massacres of Tutsis had already begun. Ten days previously, Juvenal Habyarimana, the president of Rwanda, had been assassinated, most probably by members of his political circle. Although he was a Hutu, Habyarimana was seen as having become weak in his dealings with the Tutsis and the moderate Hutus opposition groups. The extremists feared the power-sharing agreement signed by Habyarimana would see the erosion of their power and financial privilege.*

Meanwhile, the ***practice or activity*** of survival is depicted by Valentina's looking for food and water while hiding in the bushes, as well as her warding off wild dogs in search of decaying human flesh. One can argue that there is also a ***practice*** of good and evil, as seen in Keane's confrontation of Bagaruka for instance.

There are also various ***identities*** depicted in this story. Valentina, Placide, and other victims of Nyarubuye are both victims *and* survivors. But in contrast to the evil-doers such as Bagaruka, there are also a few good Samaritans in the story, including Keane (the author)

himself, the nurse, and the aunt that took in Valentina as an orphan. These individuals also encapsulate the ***relationship*** building task as care-takers/guardians/surrogate parents.

Under the ***politics, connections, and sign systems/knowledge*** building tasks, one can locate a small but significant number of themes. One can argue that the essence of the "*So What?*" of the PBS story as far as the politics building task, is its support of the seventh commandment of the Torah and the Old Testament (Exodus 20:13 and Deuteronomy 5:17), i.e. "Thou Shall Not Kill." Clearly, Keane is decrying the arbitrary taking of life by the *Interahamwe*. Perhaps what pains him the most about it is the ***connection*** he feels to Valentina "as a father." The events that transpired at Nyarubuye during the Rwandan genocide, he reasons, are not just. "*How in God's name can you help to kill a child?*" he asks. Any normal human being should know that you should not kill a child; it is a universal basic truism, a "common-sense" ***(sign system)*** bit of ***knowledge***.

1.7.4. d. Other Features of the Story that Can be Revealed via Discourse Analytical and Close Reading Methods. Using discourse analytical and close reading methods, we can try to pinpoint other distinctive features of this story to help us answer the following questions; "what does this story—as told mostly by Keane—accomplish, and how does it accomplish it?" It might be easier to first answer the second question here, i.e. *how* does this story—among other results—create significance, deploy identities, highlight linkages with other events, etc.?

In addition to all the aforementioned methods of vividly describing the harrowing events so as to highlight the figuration of good vs. evil and channeling the survivors' voices; PBS and Fergal Keane use pictures to tell the story of the massacre at Nyarubuye. By far, the most striking of these pictures are those of an emaciated 13-year old Valentina shot from above as she sits on the floor and stares blankly up into the camera, and a close-shot of her mutilated hand.

The PBS website also makes use of what Machin and Mayr (2012) define as multimodality. Whereas the story about Valentina is on its own page on the website, one can click on a number of small tabs above it to get to other feature stories that discuss the background and timeline of the genocide, the UN and United States' reaction/inaction to it, and the tribunal that was set up to try the perpetrators.

Overall, the main accomplishment of the Fergal Keane story about Valentina is its idiographic portrayal of the effects of the Rwandan genocide on a specific victim. It is also the paradoxically unique and universal story of the making of a genocide survivor and refugee. The story discusses her plight shortly after the events that turned her into a genocide survivor. For her, that role also entailed becoming a handicapped internally displaced orphan (a refugee within her own country). Later, she moved to the United States to officially become a refugee/asylee outside her native country.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background of key concepts, literature review, research questions and methods of study.

Chapter 2: Narrative Data Analysis

This part consists of the report of the results of the narrative data analysis of the USC-Shoah archive videos.

Chapter 3: Critical Discourse Data Analysis

This part consists of the report of the results of the critical discourse data analysis of the ten Western (US, UK, Italian, Canadian) newspaper articles.

Chapter 4: Discussion of Results

A holistic discussion of the narrative and critical discourse analysis results, and a review of new insights from the research.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

A brief recap of all chapters of the dissertation, and some of the applications in which the research can be of use.

1.9 Dissertation Timeline

Step 1: Narrative (USC-Shoah Archive) and Critical Discourse (News Article) Analysis:

Analysis Part I (Narrative): Dates: Sept to Nov 2014

Analysis Part II (CDA): Dates: Dec 2014 to Feb 2015

Step 2: Writing:

I.E. Analysis Reports & Interpretations of Analyses: Dates: Feb to May 2015

Step 3: Last Tasks:

Part I: Committee review and corrections	Dates: June to Aug 2015
Part II: Dissemination (conferences and journals)	Dates: Sept to Nov 2015
Part III: Defense	Dates: Nov or Dec 2015

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Chapter Two:

Narrative Analysis of USC-Shoah Visual Archive Data

Table of Contents:

2.0 Introduction to Chapter Two:

Narrative Analysis of USC-Shoah Video Archive Data

In this chapter, I will carry out a narrative analysis on four Rwandan FRGS videos from the USC-Shoah Video Archive. This analysis will examine how these four Rwandan FRGSs express sensemaking and resilience while talking about their experiences as genocide survivors and former refugees. In addition, I will attempt to answer the first secondary question listed in the previous chapter, i.e.: Are Rwandan FRGS narratives affected by social elements such as societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality, and if so, how?

As part of this narrative analysis, I will provide a brief overview of the main relevant biographical aspects of each of the four narrators, so as to orient my reader and provide a summary of each narrator's refugee/survivor's profile. To do this, I have demarcated the main themes that all four narrators' testimonies have in common, as well as those that are unique to each of their own testimonies/narratives. I have also given profile names to each of the narrators, based on the main distinct themes in their testimonies/narratives.

I will also show and discuss specific examples of narrative sensemaking and expressions of resilience using excerpts taken from transcripts of the narrators' USC-Shoah interviews. For narrative sensemaking, I will list and discuss these examples under the three categories of the operational definition I am using, i.e. i) location of personal experiences within or outside the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide, ii) provision of thematic narratives of personal experiences of genocide survivorship and or experiences as refugees (or internally displaced persons) after the genocide, and iii) the recounting of specific details via

time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations.

For resilience, I will list and discuss the examples under each narrator. The number of examples and the significance of those examples will necessarily vary depending on the narrator. Each of these four narrators experienced the effects of the genocide and its aftermath in distinct ways. Freddy Mutanguha and Esperance Kaligirwa were both in their mid-teenage years and can recall events or situations such as hiding with family members so as to avoid the Interahamwe militia, instances in which they were about to be killed but were rescued by friends, luck and other factors, etc. On the other hand, Daniel Ndamwizeye and Arsene Nsabimana were much younger—around five or six years old each during the four months of the genocide, and they can only vaguely recall and recount such experiences. But they both experienced a number of distressing events and situations after the genocide, and they discuss at length the negative effects that the genocide and its aftermath has had on their lives, and the ways they have tried to cope with these effects.

Finally, I will use the above example/excerpts with which I show and discuss the narrators' different types of narrative sensemaking and resilience, to also discuss how their narratives are affected by the social elements listed in the first secondary question above, i.e. societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality.

2.1 Brief Overview and Context of Narrators' Lives
Summary/Table 2.1:
Summary of Four Rwandan USC-Shoah Archive Narrators' Testimonies

Narrator No.	***Narrators' Profile Names***	***Themes of Narratives***
Narrator 1.	***The Expert (Freddy Mutanguha):***	---Uses historical-cultural themes (i.e. "Hutu vs. Tutsi," trigger of genocide = killing of Habyarimana, etc.) ---Also contains: *a practiced, authoritative stance with an activist message.*
Narrator 2.	***The New American Activist (Daniel Ndamwizeye):***	---Uses historical-cultural themes (i.e. "Hutu vs. Tutsi," trigger of genocide = killing of Habyarimana, etc.) ---Also contains: *an emphasis on his new American citizenship, and a budding public speaker/activist ethos.*
Narrator 3.	***The Narrator of a Raw Tale of Innocence Lost (Esperance Kaligirwa):***	---Uses historical-cultural themes (i.e. "Hutu vs. Tutsi," trigger of genocide = killing of Habyarimana, etc.) ---Also contains: *a raw style—i.e. unrehearsed and detailed, and meta-analysis of testimony/experience.*
Narrator 4.	***The Traumatized Child (Arsene Nsabimana):***	---Uses historical-cultural themes (i.e. "Hutu vs. Tutsi," trigger of genocide = killing of Habyarimana, etc.) ---Also contains: *an explicit mention of a self-perception of trauma, and a mechanism for healing that trauma via deliberate forgetting of details.*

The Expert: Freddy Mutanguha. Of the four testimonies analyzed, Freddy Mutanguha's is the longest, with a running time of four hours and fifty-three minutes. He is well-versed in the political history of Rwanda; he provides long, nuanced answers to most of the questions put to him by the interviewer; and overall, he comes off as an authoritative commentator on the subject of the Rwandan genocide. Mutanguha is currently the director of the Kigali Memorial Center, as well as the country director (Rwanda) of the Aegis Trust, a non-profit organization

headquartered in London, UK, whose mission is the "prediction, prevention," and "…elimination of genocide" around the world (Aegis Trust Website, 2015).

Mutanguha was born in 1976. He doesn't clearly state how old he was during the genocide; but based on his discussion of his progress in school at the time (he was in his third year of high school), he seems to have been in his mid-to-late teenage years. After the killing of his family (his mother, stepfather, and his siblings) while he hid in his childhood best friend's house (a Hutu peasant), Mutanguha and his lone surviving sister took refuge in an internally displaced persons' camp.

The New American Activist: Daniel Ndamwizeye. Some of the most noteworthy features of Ndamwizeye's testimony are the facts that his story is about the effects of the aftermath of the genocide on his personal life as opposed to being about his experiences during the genocide per se, and there seems to be a lot of details/sentiments he leaves out of his testimony deliberately. As of January 2015, he has a non-profit foundation based in Connecticut, under whose auspices he gives out scholarships to needy college students. Various newspaper and online articles also describe him as an LGBT advocate. In the other public lectures he has given about his life since the 2010 USC-Shoah Foundation interview, he has revealed that the "close relative" who abused him along with his wife is his older brother.

Ndamwizeye was five years old when the genocide broke out, and he witnessed the killing of his mother outside of their (Seventh Day Adventist) church. Ndamwizeye was later assisted to flee to the Congo, before returning to Rwanda after the genocide to live with "a close family relative." This relative along with his wife abused Ndamwizeye, and again, he was later assisted to move to Zambia, from where his applications for refugee status and migration to the USA were processed.

The Raw Tale of Innocence Lost: Esperance Kaligirwa. Of all the four testimonies, Kaligirwa's is the most raw, i.e. unrehearsed and detailed. Unlike Mutanguha—a genocide memorial center director who infuses his testimony with his historical knowledge of Rwanda and genocide survivor advocacy, Kaligirwa gives a detailed account of the experiences she remembers during the three/four months of the genocide, and her recollection of her thoughts and feelings during that time-period. Prodded by the interviewer, she also offers some meta-analyses of her testimony/experience.

Kaligirwa was born in 1973, and seems to have also been in her (early) teenage years at the onset of the genocide in 1994. She tells of an ordeal that involved the barricading of her family inside their house with little or no food and water, the constant comings and goings of soldiers looking for war loot (including sex) in exchange for not killing her and her family, and of two particular execution survival incidents before the end of the genocide. Kaligirwa currently lives in the USA.

The Traumatized Child: Arsene Nsabimana. Nsabimana also currently lives in the USA. Throughout his testimony, Nsabimana repeatedly states that he tries as hard as he can to forget all the details of his life back then—including the names of his parents and siblings. This, he says, helps him move on from his trauma.

Nsabimana was born in 1986. He doesn't clearly state how old he was at the onset of the genocide, but based on what he says about his progress in school, he was less than 10 years old. Right at the outset of the genocide, a group of men came to his house, gathered his family in their living room, and shot at them. He woke up later, buried under his mother's body. After surviving that incident, Nsabimana was hidden by a neighbor. Thereafter, he made his way to his then-primary school, which was hosting other displaced survivors. After the genocide, he was

found by an uncle who brought him back to North America (he first lived briefly in Michigan, then went to school in Canada).

2.2 Examples of Sensemaking and Resilience in Narrators' Testimony

2.2.1 Recap of Operational Definitions of Narrative Sensemaking and Resilience.

In this dissertation, the concept of narrative sensemaking—informed by past relevant research in organizational studies such as Harvey, and Chia (2011), Abolafia (2010), and Brown, Stacy, and Nandhakumar (2008)—is defined as (general definition): The attempts by Rwandan FRGSs to explain, clarify, or describe the feelings, states of mind, or situations they were experiencing at particular moments during and after the genocide.

More specifically, it is the understanding, recounting, and (re)interpretation for one's own benefit and for others' benefit of past events via: Locating personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide (as disseminated by the media and by written and oral histories), the provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences, and the recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations. I also refer to these last three methods (i.e. time and place, past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations) as instances of micro-sensemaking, informed by Schiffrin's (2002) study, in which she discusses creation of meaning at macro and micro levels of narrative (thus, the location of experiences within or outside of known histories & the provision of thematic narratives can be considered macro-sensemaking).

Meanwhile, resilience is defined herein as: an expression (esp. clause, phrase or sentence) that demonstrates that narrators / Rwandan FRGSs were able to persevere through the ordeals of the genocide; these phrases typically describe very distressing physical, mental, and emotional

states of being (e.g. hunger, fear, torture, etc.). Sometimes, they also describe some of the methods that were or are used to cope with the distress.

2.2.2 Examples and Discussion of Narrative Sensemaking

2.2.2.i Locating personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide.

In the context of this dissertation, the emblematic historical account of the Rwandan genocide is the Desforges (1999) Human Rights Watch report. In it, Desforges chronicles the historical Hutu/Tutsi divisions exacerbated by colonial rule, post-colonial political jockeying among the two groups and their aligned parties, the assassination of President Habyarimana, and the major highlights (esp. biggest recorded massacres) during the three/four months-long genocide in Rwanda (April to July) in 1994.

To varying degrees, all four narrators whose USC-Shoah archive videos are analyzed in this chapter, have testimonies that corroborate with the above historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide. For instance, all four narrators state that they and their families are/were of Tutsi heritage and were targeted simply because of their ethnicity, and they confirm that the genocide started after the assassination of president Habyarimana. Arguably, this characteristic (location of stories within the historical narrative) might in large part be a result of the USC-Shoah interviewers' assumptions and the way they phrase their questions. However, any of these interviewees could have said of their own volition that, for instance, their families were killed not because of they were Tutsi, but because they were providing help to the rebels that wanted to overthrow the government.

Given Daniel Ndamwizeye and Arsene Nsabimana's young ages during the months of the genocide and thus their limited memories of the main events themselves, as well as their eventual

departure after the genocide, their testimonies of the genocide can only give us a basic conception vis-à-vis the relation between their personal stories and the popular historical narrative of the genocide. However, the testimonies of Freddy Mutanguha and Esperance Kaligirwa give us a good way of examining this feature (location of stories within the historical narrative).

For instance, both testimonies assert that the assassination of President Habyarimana on April 6th 1994 was the trigger of the genocide. Whereas Mutanguha brings up the incident himself, Kaligirwa is asked about it by the interviewer. However, both narrators highlight it as the 'trigger' of the genocide. For example, see:

- *Example/Excerpt 2.2.2.i—A: Freddy Mutanguha's Discussion of President Habyarimana's Death (Lines 28-31 Underlined For Emphasis) and*
- *Example/Excerpt 2.2.2.i—B: Esperance Kaligirwa's Discussion of President Habyarimana's Death (Line 45 Underlined For Emphasis)*

In addition to the highlight of Habyarimana's assassination as the trigger of the genocide by both Mutanguha and Kaligirwa, the testimony of Esperance Kaligirwa conforms with the timeline as written about by Desforges (1999), which chronicles the genocide as having taken place from April to the beginning of July in 1994. In excerpt 2.2.2.i—C, Kaligirwa explicitly discusses the timeline after the interviewer asks her about the first two weeks of the genocide, which her family had spent hiding inside their house (she also mentions in the excerpt that they stayed inside the house till June). See:

- *Excerpt 2.2.2.i—C: Esperance Kaligirwa's Discussion of The Timeline of the Rwandan (1994) Genocide*

2.2.2.ii The provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences. The testimonies of all four narrators contain a wealth of distinct and poignant details that would be hard to get from a general/macro narrative using statistics and major documented events, massacres, etc. Even though the average educated / well-informed Westerner will immediately recognize the historical event known as "the Rwandan genocide," this same individual won't be able to comprehend what that historical event meant to the average Rwandan genocide survivor. Arguably, the best way to explain that significance would entail the use of testimonies such as the ones analyzed herein. In this section, I will attempt to summarize some of the major sets of distinct details regarding the genocide and its aftermath in the lives of Freddy Mutanguha, Esperance Kaligirwa, Daniel Ndamwizeye, and Arsene Nsabimana.

2.2.2.ii. I Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences From the testimony of Freddy Mutanguha, we can demarcate at least two semi-autonomous stories or discussions that highlight his own personal experiences. These are: 1) his story of survival, and 2) his story/discussion of relationships/cooperation among genocide survivors and his leadership/advocacy role on behalf of the survivors.

As aforementioned, Mutanguha's answers to the USC-Shoah interviewer are detailed. Thus, within the above two stories/discussions, one can find a good number of sub-stories/discussions/themes. For instance, in narrative 2.2.2.ii.I of his story of survival, one can detect four separate sub-stories/discussions/themes, namely his seeking of refuge with his childhood Hutu friend Jean-Pierre (A); his listening to the sounds of killings, rapes, and celebration by the Hutu militia (B); his experience of hunger at Jean-Pierre's house and his mum's nightly visits to feed him (C); and his last night with his mum, as well as his listening to hers and the rest of his siblings' dying screams (D). Similar to the subdivision of his story of

survival, one can detect two sub-stories/discussions in the discussion of his survivor leadership/advocacy role, i.e.: The Creation of an Association for Student Genocide-Survivors (E), and the Creation of Student-Survivor Association "Artificial Families" (F).

After discussing the beginning of the genocide on April 7th (in Example/Excerpt 2.2.2.i—A), Mutanguha recounts how his family met to try to figure out what to do or where to go for safety. His parents suggested that he seek refuge with a distant relative who was a Hutu. However, Mutanguha soon learned that that relative had joined the Interahamwe militias. His mum then suggested that he seek refuge with his childhood friend Jean-Pierre, a Hutu peasant.

While hiding inside Jean-Pierre's house, Mutanguha could hear the sounds of killings, rapes, and celebration by the Hutu Interahamwe militia. Mutanguha also knew—Jean Pierre and his mum told him—that his family was still alive because of the bribes (money and food) they kept giving to the militias.

And during his stay with Jean-Pierre, Mutanguha had to endure hunger. Jean-Pierre, a poor peasant, could not afford to give his family more than one meal a day. His mum was aware of that condition, and thus kept surreptitiously taking food to him every night for a week, till her eventual murder (along with the rest of his family).

Eventually, Mutanguha's parents and siblings didn't have any more money with which to bribe the Hutu militias. On the night of April 13th, she came to see him with the last meal she had prepared for him—cooked rudimentarily as she had run out of cooking ingredients, and was anxious about her own and her family's impending murder. Mutanguha and his mother had their last conversation and bid each other farewell. The next day, Mutanguha could hear the dying screams of his mother, his step-father, and his siblings. Towards the end of this next excerpt, in addition to recounting his memory of the sounds of the killings of his family, Mutanguha tries to

interpret the implication of living with those memories (in Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. I, lines 413 to 426). The sequence is as follows:

- *A: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Seeking of Refuge at Jean-Pierre's House*
- *B: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of The Sounds of Killings/Rapes & Militia Celebration*.
- *C: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Hunger at Jean-Pierre's House & His Mum's Nightly Trips to Feed Him*
- *D: Recounting Of His Memories of His Last Meeting With His Mother, and the Sounds of His Dying Parents & Siblings*

Similar to the sub-demarcation of his story of survival, one can find sub- stories or themes in Mutanguha's story/discussion of relationships and cooperation among genocide survivors and his leadership and advocacy role on behalf of survivors. There are at least three such sub-stories/discussions, namely: the initial establishment of a formal association of student survivors at his college, the establishment of "artificial families" within that association, and the reason(s) or motivation(s) for his leadership and advocacy role.

After talking to the interviewer about his early years in college (around 5 years after the end of the genocide), the interviewer asks Mutanguha if he had friends who were fellow survivors, and if they talked about their experiences during the genocide. Mutanguha recounts how a number of student genocide-survivors had met at a funeral of close friend of Mutanguha who had been shot by a bank security guard in a mysterious incident. During that meeting, they spontaneously started sharing their experiences, and from there, they started a formal association within which they could talk amongst each other and support each other.

After establishing their association, student-survivors also established what they referred to as "artificial families" within that association. They divided themselves into groups of ten students, and elected male and female leaders that they referred to as "fathers" and "mothers." These "families" fostered a strong sense of cooperation, and student-survivors could count on their support years after graduation. See Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I:

- *E: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of The Creation of an Association for Student Genocide-Survivors*
- *F: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting the Creation of Student-Survivor Association "Artificial Families"*

2.2.2.ii. II Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences Due to the fact that the two young men were very young—toddlers below the age of 5 or 6 during the genocide, the lived experiences of Daniel Ndamwizeye and Arsene Nsabimana (see further below) are not ideal for examining the events of the three/four months of the genocide itself in 1994. Rather, their lives show us the effects that the genocide wrought on the lives of two young children who lost parents and siblings, and were traumatized by the violence they saw or experienced, as well as other adversities that were caused by the genocide. In the case of Mr. Ndamwizeye, we get to see the experiences of a six year-old child who unfortunately ended up in the care of guardians that did not treat him well (note: during the USC-Shoah interview, Ndamwizeye doesn't mention the real name of the guardian, and the relationship between them).

Fortunately, his sisters who had emigrated to the USA, and his brother-in-law who was living in the Congo at the time, were all aware of the dismal conditions in which he was. His brother-in-law thus picked him up from the relative's house in 2001 and took him along to Zambia, where they would both start their official refugee declaration and US emigration

processes. By then, Ndamwizeye was 11 years old. But in Zambia, his brother-in-law's refugee/US visa application was approved immediately while his was still pending. Ndamwizeye was thus left under the guardianship of family friends. Soon however, this family—from the Congo, who'd been working as expatriates in Zambia, also had to return to the Congo. Again, Ndamwizeye had to move in with another family. Throughout this entire tumultuous transition, Ndamwizeye had had to learn English and some basic Lingala so as to go to school and communicate with his guardians. Eventually, in 2005, Ndamwizeye's refugee/US visa application was finally approved, and he moved to the USA to join his two sisters.

Starting from the 50th to the 84th segment of his USC-Shoah Video Archive testimony—a total of 34 minutes (from the video's total duration of one hour and 24 minutes), one can demarcate 11 specific sub-stories or topics of discussion to help us highlight four themes from Daniel Ndamwizeye's lived experiences as a refugee-cum-citizen in the USA. These four themes are: 1) The Creation of a New Identity, 2) The Assertion of a New Identity, 3) Spirituality / Religiosity, and 4) The Obliquely Spoken.

2.2.2.ii. II. 1. The Creation of a New Identity. The sub-stories or topics of discussion under this first theme highlight the process that Daniel went through as he shed his old identity as a wandering Rwandan refugee / genocide survivor, instead becoming a new American. There are four sub-stories or topics of discussion under this theme, namely: Arrival in the USA, Adjustment, College, and Work. See 2.2.2.ii.II The Creation of a New Identity:

- *A: Arrival in the USA*
- *B: Adjustment to Life/School in the USA*
- *C: College*, and
- *D: Work*

2.2.2.ii. II. 2. The Assertion of a New Identity. In this theme, we encounter a repetitive assertion or emphasis of Ndamwizeye's new American identity/citizenship. He talks about it while discussing the implications of the historical Hutu-Tutsi ethnic divide in Rwanda, his future aspirations, and the future message he would like to send to the people in the US and around the world who will watch his testimony.

There are three sub-stories or topics of discussion under this theme, namely: Reflections on Ethnicity, Future Aspirations I, Future Aspirations II—which also falls under another theme that I'll discuss below, i.e. The Obliquely Spoken—and Public Message. See 2.2.2.ii.II. 2. The Assertion of a New Identity:

- *A: Reflections on Ethnicity*

(Lines 241 to 244 Underlined for Emphasis)

- *B: Future Aspirations I (Line 285 Underlined for Emphasis)*

- *C: Future Aspirations II*

(Line 333 Underlined for Emphasis, i.e. to Highlight "The Obliquely Spoken" Theme)

- *D: Public Message (Lines 400 to 409 Underlined for Emphasis)*

2.2.2.ii. II. 3. Spirituality / Religiosity. There is only one topic of discussion under this theme, namely: Coping Mechanisms I. The topic of discussion highlights the specific mechanism—i.e. Spirituality/Religiosity—that Ndamwizeye says he employed so as to cope with his travails as an orphaned genocide survivor and refugee. See 2.2.2.ii.II (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences):

- *3. Spirituality / Religiosity*

2.2.2.ii.II. 4. The Obliquely Spoken. In addition to the aforementioned "Future Aspirations II" topic above, there are two topics of discussion under this theme, namely: "Coping Mechanisms II," and "John and Jessica."

These topics highlight the remarkable amount of information that Ndamwizeye leaves out of this interview. There are at least two specific topics we can delineate in this vein. The first one is in regard to the names/identities (or nature of familial relationship to Ndamwizeye) of the relative and his wife with whom he stayed in Rwanda before going to Zambia with his brother in law. Early on during the interview, he explicitly mentions that he would like to keep their identities a secret for the time being. The second topic is revealed when Ndamwizeye talks about therapy, saying that to him, public speaking (i.e. about his past experiences) is a form of therapy. He goes on to say that there was only one occasion in his past on which he went for actual clinical psychotherapy, but quickly adds that he is not yet ready to discuss the precise reason he sought it (therapy) on that particular occasion. See 2.2.2.ii. II (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 4. The Obliquely Spoken:

- *A (Lines 468 to 478 Underlined for Emphasis)*
- *B (Lines 485, and 493 to 502 Underlined for Emphasis)*

2.2.2.ii. III Esperance Kaligirwa's Personal Experiences. As I discus in the previous chapter, there are at least three main stories in Esperance Kaligirwa's testimony which highlight her distinct experiences of survival during the genocide, namely: 1) First Two Weeks of the Genocide, 2) First Execution Survival, and 3) Second Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation, and Reunion.

In the First Two Weeks of the Genocide story, Kaligirwa recounts her family's stay in their house in Kigali without electricity, and very little water and food. During this period of

anxiety, she says, prayer was one of the ways her mum and siblings would cope. But, she adds, she had lost faith: “There’s no way God…can exist” (line 16, excerpt 2.2.2.ii. III A). Eventually, government soldiers (belonging the Hutu-led regime) started coming regularly to threaten her family and collect bribes:

68. So, they took one car, they left
69. And then another like after one week, they would come back again
70. They would say we’re going to kill you guys unless if you give us another th—another thing or give us money
71. They would took [sic] another car
72. They would come next time they would took
73. And then all of the sudden we didn’t have anything to give them
74. Because we didn’t have any—my brother didn’t have any money
75. We didn’t have any more cars to give…yeah
76. We didn’t have anything
77. And then…next time they would come and they would say
78. We are going to take your sister
79. Maybe they are going to rape her
80. They w—they—they w—they w—you can do anything
81. **I: Hm…**
82. **EK:** They would take—they—one time they took my little sister…****sighs****
83. They [pause] took her for…almost for five hours
84. **I: Hm-hm…**
85. **EK:** And then she came back for five—they brought her back

86. We didn't—we didn't even ask her
87. We didn't even talk about it, we didn't know what they did to her…
88. **I: Hm**
89. **EK:** So it—it was just um…ta—It was just I don't know how to describe it
90. Sometimes you would wish they would just come and kill you
91. Instead of killing you—like—slowly or…

(Taken from excerpt 2.2.2.ii. III A First Two Weeks of the Genocide)

In the second story that highlights her distinct experiences of survival, Kaligirwa recounts her entire family's first execution survival. (Note: Eventually, a number of her family members were killed in the second execution attempt.) When government soldiers returned after her family had ran out of property with which to bribe them, they specifically asked for her older brother, saying they wanted to kill him. Having failed to find him (he had hidden behind the main house in the chicken coops), the soldiers took the family outside to try to find a pit in which to bury them after killing them. But on their way to find the pit, some Hutu neighbors—apparently some of the past beneficiaries of Kaligirwa's father's generosity—intervened and appealed to the soldiers to spare the lives of Kaligirwa and her family. The soldiers assented to the request, but promised to come back in the future.

And in the last story of Kaligirwa's genocide survival experiences, she recounts the incident in which she, her mum, and six of her siblings and relatives (a nephew and a cousin) survived the last execution attempt; went on to hide for the remainder of the genocide; and reunited after the end of the genocide. See 2.2.2.ii. III (Esperance Kaligirwa's Personal Experiences):

- *A—First Two Weeks of the Genocide*

- *B—First Execution Survival*
- *C—2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion*

2.2.2.ii. IV Arsene Nsabimana's Personal Experiences. Out of all four testimonies analyzed in this chapter, Arsene Nsabimana's is the one with the least number of stories/discussions which highlight the distinct experiences he went through as a genocide survivor and former refugee. The three stories present are also very short in comparison to the other three survivors' (with running times of 16, six, and three minutes consecutively). This small quantity and brevity is a reflection of the fact that Nsabimana is the genocide survivor among all four who left Rwanda the earliest—within less than two years of the end of the genocide.

He also explicitly mentions repeatedly at the beginning of the interview that he tries his best to forget as many details as he can about his life prior to, and during the genocide. These details include the names of his parents and siblings, the memories of the incident in which they were killed, and the dates on which that and other incidents happened (e.g. his wandering around the city and being found by an aunt). Based on their content, I have given the following titles to the three stories told by Nsabimana in his interview: 1) Memories: Forgetting and Remembering, 2) Diaspora and Return, and General Reflections on the Genocide, and 3) Forgetting and Forgiving.

The first story/discussion—Memories: Forgetting and Remembering, is at the beginning of Nsabimana's interview. It starts when the interviewer asks him the names of his parents, as is the procedure with all USC-Shoah survivor interviews. Nsabimana responds only with his father's name—"Mathias," and adds that he does not remember his mum's and siblings' names thanks to a deliberate effort he has made over the years. The interviewer then proceeds to ask

Nsabimana about the memories he has of the beginning of the genocide. Nsabimana recounts the events in his family's house, the night of the Habyarimana plane crash: his father summoning him and his siblings to his bedroom; the arrival of Interahamwe militia inside their house and his father getting beaten by them during interrogation; and the killing of his entire family by the militia, as well as his survival of that incident. See 2.2.2.ii. IV (Arsene Nsabimana's Personal Experiences):

- *A: Memories: Forgetting & Remembering*

The second story/discussion—Diaspora and Return, and General Reflections on the Genocide, comes up around the middle of Nsabimana's interview. Having concluded his recounting of his memories of the genocide and its aftermath in Rwanda, Nsabimana recounts his arrival in the USA (in Niles, Michigan) under the guardianship of his uncle Gerome. After living in Michigan for over a year, his uncle then had to relocate to Kenya for work, but Nsabimana "just did have-I didn't want anything to do with Africa, period" (line 6, Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B), "I mean…I didn't even wanna go anywhere where…There were Hutus, any-I didn't wanna be affiliated with-those people…" (lines 10 and 11, Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B). Thus, his uncle left him in a Christian boarding school in Oshawa (Ontario), Canada, where he completed his high school years. But after the end of high school, his uncle returned with his family to the USA for a visit, and told Arsene to consider visiting Rwanda:

23. I was like, ah…I don-I don't know…
24. I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories
25. I don't even think I remember…the place…
26. They said, yeah, it's very different, they built it…
27. They, I mean, the roads…are not dirt anymore…you know

28. So I thought about it for like a year…

29. And…finally in two-thousand and seven that's when

30. I got the confidence to go back and-visit them

31. I: Yeah…

32. **AN:** You know…

33. Two-thousa-I went there-I went the first place I went was in Rwanda

34. Stayed there for a month, Gerome…took me to…

35. Where his parents lived…

36. That's my grandpa, and grandma's, on my dad's side

37. I: Okay…

38. **AN:** So we went, we went there…spent a whole day

39. Showing me different s-places…and where he was born

40. And…et cetera et cetera but…it was just different to see

41. Where…my dad, and…my uncles came from…

42. And where they are right now

43. It was just amazing…

(Taken from excerpt Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B)

Later, the interviewer asks Ndamwizeye to discuss some of his general reflections on the genocide and its aftermath:

71. I: Um…As a young…um…a Rwandan guy Nsabimana

72. Who…luckily survived the genocide…

73. Um…when you think back, um…

74. What feelings does it bring to you?

Nsabimana's answer is as follows:

75. **AN:** I just feel like…that sort of stuff should never have happened anyways

76. I: H-hm…

77. AN: You know it could have got dealt with

78. **shrugs** so different, you know…

79. Like the presidents—die every day, you know?

80. In history…so you don't have to, like, start killing other race

81. Because your president has passed away…you know?

82. I just feel like…as soon as their president passed away

83. They just felt like the Tutsis are the ones who killed him

84. And they just got…angry at with hut-with the Tutsis

85. Where they just wanted to clean up…ev-the whole race

86. You know? Just clean out, try to clean out the whole race and

87. Even though…some Hutus were killed too…but Tutsis were the more…

88. You know, they were, they're the ones who lost the most

89. [Word unclear] most of their families, you know…

90. People who didn't even have authorities in the army

91. People who was living like friends probably which-your parents

92. Who were trying to killing your parents the next day

93. You know because you were Tutsi

94. So I, I just felt like…there was no respect for human…beings, period

95. You know?

(Taken from excerpt Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B)

The third and final story/discussion that highlights Nsabimana's distinct personal experiences as a genocide survivor/refugee, is "Forgetting and Forgiving." It comes up towards the end of the interview, via a question from the interviewer:

1. **I: People around the world will listen to your testimony…**
2. **What would you want them to hear?**
3. **What message would you want them to…**
4. **Get from your testimony?**

(Nsabimana's answer:)

5. **AN**: That we need to stop fighting…
6. **I: H-hm…**
7. **AN:** Fighting with each other
8. We-r-we're human…we all have feelings…you know?
9. We n-we need to stop fighting with each other
10. And just build with-you know, friends-friendship with each other
11. That killing people you know I-it took-it took me a lot
12. To forgive…you know?
13. Like to me I can sit down and talk to a hut-to a Hutu right now
14. And you know, I wouldn't feel any sort of
15. Like anger towards that person
16. But…I just feel like we-we have to be friends
17. Stop fighting and…just…build the world together

A few moments later, the interviewer asks Nsabimana about the details of his own forgiveness process:

23. I: H-hm…and when did <u>you</u> actually forgive…

24. Or have you fully forgiven?

…

34. I: And uh, what made you forgive?

(Nsabimana's answer:)

35. **AN:** I mean, it's like-it's all…of like forget-forgive and forget

36. Kinda thing…

37. I: H-hm…

38. **AN:** Start getting comfortable talking about it

39. You know…forgetting a little bits and pieces about it

40. I: Yeah…

41. **AN:** And…yeah that's how it came about just felt comfortable

…

42. I just forgot…little bit pieces-of-about it…and yeah…

As I prepare to discuss the implications of these narratives later (in the conclusion of this chapter and in Chapter 5—Implications & Conclusion), it is important to recap and emphasize here from his words above that for Nsabimana, the process of forgiving is enabled by the <u>deliberate</u> process of forgetting. See: 2.2.2.ii. IV (Arsene Nsabimana's Personal Experiences):

- *C: Forgetting & Forgiving*

2.2.2. iii Recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations (micro-sensemaking).

The last sensemaking discursive tool I am analyzing and explicating in this chapter is the recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being,

and the provision of evaluations or interpretations. In general, all four narrators employ the above three sensemaking tools in varying degrees. For instance:

- All four narrators allude to the place/country known as Rwanda, the year 1994, and the months of April through July, as the spatial-temporal anchors of the historical event known as the Rwandan Genocide. Each of the narrators also discuss either staying in Rwanda, or leaving Rwanda (to come to the USA or elsewhere) after the genocide.

  (Use of Time and Place)

- All four narrators recount a number of thoughts and states of being, e.g. Kaligirwa's wishing "…they would just come and kill you [right away] instead of killing you—like—slowly," and Mutanguha and Nsabimana's initial feelings of enmity towards Hutus after the end of the genocide.

  (Description of Past Thoughts and States of Being)

- All four narrators in essence are thinking out loud via their testimonies, as part of an effort to explain ***how and why*** the genocide happened, how and why they survived, and even, how and why they are talking about their experiences.

  (Provision of Evaluations or Interpretations or the 'Hows' and 'Whys' of Phenomena)

Beyond the above general uses of the three sensemaking tools by all four narrators, one can find various specific instances in each of their own testimonies/narratives. Over the next couple of pages, I will attempt to list and explicate some of these instances of micro-sensemaking—via time and place, descriptions of thoughts and mental/corporal states, and evaluations or interpretations—for each of the four narrators. For each narrator, I will utilize one

or two stories or discussions which can highlight the use of the above-listed (three) micro-sensemaking tools.

2.2.2. iii. I Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of Specific Details. The genocide survival narratives that Freddy Mutanguha provides during his USC-Shoah interview, which provide us with the best highlights of his use of the three sensemaking tools above, are: (A) Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Seeking of Refuge at Jean-Pierre's House, and (C) Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Hunger at Jean-Pierre's House & His Mum's Nightly Trips to Feed Him.

2.2.2. iii. I. 1 Use of Time and Place. From the above two narratives—i.e. the recounting of seeking refuge & experience of hunger at Jean-Pierre's house, the instances in which Mutanguha utilizes time and place for micro-sensemaking are as follows (instances double underlined and italicized):

…

(1)

228. I went *that night*

…

(2)

231. And he said, oh, come to *my house*

(3)

232. But *the same day on the seventh*

(4)

233. Jean-Pierre came to *my house* to see

…

(5)

240. So, stay in *my house*

…

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I—A)

…

(6)

310. *Each and every night*

…

(7)

320 *From uh…the night of 7th night of 8th, 9,*

321 *10, 11, 12*, she kept actually doing the same thing

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I—C)

2.2.2. iii. I. 2 Description of Past Thoughts and States of Being. From the same two narratives, the instances in which Mutanguha utilizes the description of past thoughts and states of being to make sense are (instances double underlined and italicized):

…

(1)

238. *But I don't want you to be killed*

…

244. …you're a very good friend of me [sic]

245. And then *I need to I need to make sure that you protected*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I—A)

(2)

295. And… Jean Pierre…was living in a very poor family

296. They had to eat one time a—one time a day

297. No breakfast no lunch but supper

…

(3)

303 *He was…happy with uh—that fam—that-that condition because*

304 *Since he born, it was like that*

305 But *he was used that—to that conditions*

…

(4)

306 *But I was not used to that*

307. Used to that condition *I was dying with*

308 *With hunger* and everything

309 *My mum was aware about that*

311. *She was coming to see me with food*

…

(5)

322. *And…I had some hope because*

323. Each and every night, I had hope to see my mum coming

…

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I—C)

2.2.2. iii. I. 3 Provision of Evaluations or Interpretations, or the 'Hows' and 'Whys' of Phenomena.

Overall, most of the same instances in which Mutanguha uses the description of past thoughts and states of being, can also be judged to contain the provision of evaluations or interpretations, i.e. the attempt by Mutanguha to explain *the hows and whys* of the events that were happening to or around him, during the genocide.

Below are the four instances of his provision of evaluations/interpretations that I have isolated, which are also listed above under 'Description of Past Thoughts and States of Being.' ('Provision of Evaluation/Interpretation' Instances are double underlined and italicized):

(1)

…

244 But *you're a very good friend* of me [sic]

245 And then I need to *I need to make sure that you protected*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I—A)

(2)

295. And… Jean Pierre…*was living in a very poor family*

296. *They had to eat one time a—one time a day*

297. No breakfast no lunch but supper

…

(3)

303 *He was…happy with uh—that fam—that-that condition because*

304 *Since he born, it was like that*

305 But *he was used that—to that conditions*

(4)

306 *But I was not used to that*

37. Used to that condition *I was dying with*

38 *With hunger* and everything

39 *My mum was aware about that*

311. *She was coming to see me with food*

(5)

…

322. *And…I had some hope because*

323. *Each and every night, I had hope to see my mum coming*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I—C)

2.2.2. iii. II Daniel Ndamwizeye's Recounting of Specific Details. As aforementioned, the testimony of Daniel Ndamwizeye has a big number of narratives that can be categorized under four themes, namely "Creation of a New Identity," "Assertion of a New Identity," "Spirituality/Religiosity," and "The Obliquely Spoken." From the "Creation of a New Identity" theme, we can focus on the narrative titled "Adjustment" in our attempt to highlight Ndamwizeye's use of micro-sensemaking tools. In that narrative, Ndamwizeye recounts the adjustment process he underwent as a new young (teenager / high school) refugee in the US (instances of micro-sensemaking [via time & place, recounting of states of being, and evaluation/interpretation] are double underlined and italicized).

2.2.2. iii. II. 1. Use of Time and Place. Below are seven instances of his formulation of micro-sensemaking via use of time and place that I have isolated:

(1)

…

48. Um…coz *when I was in Rwanda* I stopped school when I was in

49. Grade six, and *then I went to Zambia*, I went to grade 8

…

(2)

…

51. During I didn't go…*I spent two years in Zambia* without going to school

(3)

…

54. *When I came here* I went to grade nine

(4)

…

59. *I had lived here for a while*

…

(5)

…

71. *From the time I was a freshman to the time I was a senior*

72. *I was the captain from sophomore year to senior year*

73. Um…I won the MVP *junior years and senior years*

74. I actually got the…co-athletic of the year

75. *At my senior banquet*

(6)

…

77. *From the time I was a freshman to senior year*

78. I was the captain also

(7)

…

81. Um…so, *I had a very great, great, high school uh-car…*

82. Coz…these are things that I—didn't have…

83. *When I was growing up*…

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.II. 1 B)

2.2.2. iii. II. 2 Description of Past Thoughts and States of Being. Similarly, I have isolated five instances of his formulation of micro-sensemaking via description of past thoughts and states of being:

...

(1)

58. Everything, *it seemed like*

59. *I had lived here for a while*

…

(2)

61. Uh…*it was very difficult at the beginning*

62. *You know, adjusting to the language*

63. *Uh…adjusting to the culture*

64. *And you know, the kids…the differences*

…

(3)

67. Everything was perfect, I did very well

68. I was top in my class…in most of my classes

69. I did very well so…

…

(4)

80. So I was on the bowling team as well

81. Um…*so, I had a very great, great, high school uh-car*…

…

(5)

84 *I didn't know what it meant to **sighs***

85 *Have people who cared about you*

86 *I…this all…all this was very new to me*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.II. 1. B)

2.2.2. iii. II. 3 Provision of Evaluations or Interpretations, or the 'Hows' and 'Whys' of Phenomena. Remarkably, in my evaluation, there is only one elongated instance (with 33 lines of text) of evaluation or interpretation micro-sensemaking in this narrative. Apparently, this is mostly due to the fact that Ndamwizeye is making a list of some of the attributes which, according to the standards of his new society of abode (the USA), signify a student's 'success' in high school and or teenage life.

…

55 *And…for some reason…*

56 *I did well **chuckles***

57. *Uh…for some reason…uh…*

58 *Everything, it seemed like*

59 *I had lived here for a while*

Like you know…

Uh…it was very difficult at the beginning

You know, adjusting to the language

Uh…adjusting to the culture

And you know, the kids…the differences

Um…but, after my ninth grade

When I went to sophomore year

Everything was perfect, I did very well

I was top in my class…in most of my classes

I did very well so…

I joined a few I played volleyball

From the time I was a freshman to the time I was a senior

I was the captain from sophomore year to senior year

Um…I won the MVP junior years and senior years

I actually got the…co-athletic of the year

At my senior banquet

Uh…I also ran cross country

From the time I was a freshman to senior year

I was the captain also

Um…I played bowling we had a bowling team

So I was on the bowling team as well

Um…so, I had a very great, great, high school uh-car…

Coz…these are things that I—didn't have…

83 *When I was growing up…*

84 *I didn't know what it meant to **sighs***

85 *Have people who cared about you*

86 *I…this all…all this was very new to me*

87 *And I make sure that I use all the opportunities*

88 *That I was given*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.II. 1—B)

2.2.2. iii. III Esperance Kaligirwa's Recounting of Specific Details. In the previous chapter and on page ten above, I discuss three narratives from Esperance Kaligirwa's testimony that depict her process of sensemaking. Out of those three narratives, we can closely focus on her "First Two Weeks of the Genocide" narrative to help understand her specific usages of the micro-sensemaking tools of time and place, recounting of mental/corporal states, and evaluation and interpretation.

2.2.2. iii. III. 1 Use of Time and Place. Within the "First Two Weeks of the Genocide" narrative excerpt, the instances in which Kaligirwa uses time and place for micro-sensemaking are (instances double underlined and italicized):

(1)

2. **EK:** Really, it start…*after the Habyarimana airplane had been shot down, that's when*
3. Then *like after an hour* we—my uh—my old[er] sister—we got a call from my older sister
4. She used to live *in—about maybe ten minutes from us*

…

(2)

7. And then *at that time* we knew that everybody is gonna be killed because

…

(3)

9. So…*at that time* we knew that uh—everybody's gonna be killed

…

(4)

11. *That's when*…personally *that's when* I knew—that's—

…

(5)

14. And then we used to—like I said we used to sleep *in the hallways* t—we used to pray every day—every day—but for me…

…

(6)

18. And uhm…*at that time* the phone was still working *for like a week*

…

(7)

20. We couldn't go *outside*, you know how um…

21. Back home in Africa…the houses are fenced

…

(8)

23. You can't even like see *outside*…

24. We were *like in prison, in our home*…

25. We couldn't even go ***outside***…

…

(9)

27. We were just stuck—***home***—waiting

…

(10)

31. ***For one week*** nobody came—nobody…

32. We just stayed ***there***…nobody—didn't bother us or anything we just stayed ***there in our house***…

…

(11)

34. You know I don't even know what we ate—we didn't have food ***anywhere***

…

(12)

36. Because our…I don't know how to call—our house maid—maybe?

37. He was a Tutsi, so he—he couldn't even go ***outside*** to get food

38. So, we stayed ***home***…

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. III—A: First Two Weeks of the Genocide)

2.2.2. iii. III. 2 Description of Past Thoughts and States of Being. From the same excerpt, one can find the following recounting/discussions of thoughts and states of being during Kaligirwa's and her family's first two weeks of the genocide in their home (instances double underlined and italicized):

(1)

1. And then at that time ***we knew*** that everybody is gonna be killed because

…

(2)

9. So…at that time ***we knew*** that uh—everybody's gonna be killed
10. So…***we were just like***—***waiting***…every—l-yeah…
11. That's when…personally that's when ***I knew***—that's—

…

(3)

12. **EK:** You just don't—I don't kn—like ***I don't know how to describe like—you waiting for death to come anytime***…
13. And ***you don't know*** when they're coming…***you don't know*** what's gonna happen, y—just—horrible

…

(4)

15. ***I lost faith*** I was like…
16. There's no way God…can exist
17. So ***I lost faith*** but my mother used to say you need to pray every time—you need to pray

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. III—A: First Two Weeks of the Genocide)

2.2.2. iii. III. 3 Provision of Evaluations or Interpretations, or the 'Hows' and 'Whys' of Phenomena.

Similar to Mutanguha's case further above, many of the same instances in which Kaligirwa recounts mental/corporal states of being, can also be categorized as those in which she

provides evaluations or interpretations—the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of the experiences her and her family were undergoing (instances double underlined and italicized):

(1)

7. *And then at that time we knew that everybody is gonna be killed because*
8. *That friend wasn’t even a politician or anything he was just like a regular man*
9. *So…at that time we knew that uh—everybody’s gonna be killed*
10. *So…we were just like—waiting…every—l-yeah…*
11. *That’s when…personally that’s when I knew—that’s—*

…

(2)

12. **EK:** *You just don’t—I don’t kn—like I don’t know how to describe like—you waiting for death to come anytime…*
13. *And you don’t know when they’re coming…you don’t know what’s gonna happen, y—just—horrible*

…

(3)

15. *I lost faith I was like…*
16. *There’s no way God…can exist*
17. *So I lost faith* but my mother used to say you need to pray every time—you need to pray

…

(4)

24. *We were like in prison, in our home…*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. III—A: First Two Weeks of the Genocide)

2.2.2. iii. IV Arsene Nsabimana's Recounting of Specific Details. Nsabimana's recounting of adjustment and stay in North America throughout his high school years, and his subsequent visit to Rwanda at the end of high school, provides us with an opportunity to study his use of the micro-sensemaking tools of time and place, recounting of mental/corporal states, and evaluation/interpretation. Below are the instances of these three tools (instances are double underlined and italicized).

2.2.2. iii. IV. 1 Use of Time and Place. There are 14 instances of Nsabimana's formulation of micro-sensemaking via use of time and place, all from his narrative excerpt titled Diaspora and Return, and General Reflections on the Genocide:

(1)

1. **AN**: …*In Niles*, uh…I was just finishing grade nine there

...

(2)

3. **AN***: Like the-I think the last two semester…there*
4. *And…at the time, my-my uncle [Gerome] was getting ready*
5. To move *back to Kenya*, because he got a job there
6. Me, I just did have-I didn't want anything to do with *Africa*, period
7. *At the time*…I just wanted more—I just wanted to stay *away from there*
8. So…they found *a boarding school, in-in Canada*
9. *A uh…boarding school* so I…*that school was called Kingsway college*
10. When I stayed…I mean…I didn't even wanna go *anywhere where*…

11. *There were Hutus*, any-I didn't wanna be affiliated with-those people so

12. Yeah, I just went to…*Canada*…

13. Went to *a boarding school…stayed there*…

14. *During those years…went to high school finished high school there*

15. Yeah, and…after high school…

(3)

17. And I came *back here*, to visit them…

...

(4)

21. **AN:** The-k-I, they came *back*, I came to visit them

22. And that's when they're like you should come back to *Africa* and visit

(5)

23. I was like, ah…I don-I don't know…

24. I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories

25. I don't even think I remember…*the place*…

(6)

26. They said, yeah, *it's very different, they built it…*

27. They, I mean, *the roads…are not dirt anymore*…you know

(7)

28. So I thought about it *for like a year*…

29. And…finally in two-thousand and seven that's when

30. I got the confidence to go *back* and-visit them

(8)

31. **I: Yeah…**

32. **AN:** You know…

(9)

33. Two-thousa-I went there-I went the first place I went was in Rwanda

34. Stayed there for a month, Gerome…took me *to…*

35. Where his parents lived…

…

(10)

***38.* AN:** *So we went, we went there…spent a whole day*

39. Showing me *different s-places*…and where he was born

…

(11)

44. And…you know it just looks like, nobody really cares

1. About the place…coz they never rebuilt it

…

(12)

50. ***I: So, where do they come from, in Rwanda?***

51. **AN:** They were born *in Kibuye*

52. ***I: In Kibuye…***

53 **AN:** Yeah…*that's where they were…grew up*

54 **I: Okay…um…so…you came back**

55. Er…*when I came back…from…Africa*

…

(13)

57. **AN:** I started, I started *college in Kingsway university college*

58. That's in Alberta in Canada

59. Started…*went there for…psychology for one year*

(14)

60. And I…I just, I just…felt like it wasn't for me…

61. Psychology…*I toughed it out for one year*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B)

2.2.2. iii. IV. 2 Description of Past Thoughts and States of Being. For his use of the description of past thoughts and states of being, one can isolate at least 12 discrete instances:

(1)

…

6. Me*, I just did have-I didn't want anything to do with Africa, period*

7. At the time…*I just wanted more—I just wanted to stay away from there*

…

(2)

10. When I stayed…I mean…*I didn't even wanna go anywhere where*…

11. *There were Hutus, any-I didn't wanna be affiliated with-those peopl*e so

…

(3)

24. *I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories*

25. *I don't even think I remember…the place…*

…

(4)

28. *So I thought about it for like a year…*

…

(5)

30. *I got the confidence* to go back and-visit them

…

(6)

40. And…et cetera et cetera but…*it was just different to see*

41. Where…my dad, and…my uncles came from…

42. And where they are right now

43. *It was just amazing*…

…

(7)

62 And…just…stopped, *coz I got confused I'm like…*

63 This, *I don't know if this is what I'm gonna do*

…

(8)

66. Being just thinking about what I really need to do

…

(9)

68 **AN:** Right now…*I feel like I'm getting there*, coz…

69 *I'm leaning on towards one thing*…

70 H-it's computer, computer science…yeah

…

(10)

74. **I: *<u>What feelings does it bring to you?</u>***

75. AN: *<u>I just feel like</u>*…that sort of stuff should never have happened anyways

…

(11)

82. *<u>I just feel like</u>*…as soon as their president passed away

…

(12)

94 *<u>So I, I just felt like…there was no respect for human…beings, period</u>*

95 You know?

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B)

2.2.2. iii. IV. 3 Provision of Evaluations or Interpretations, or the 'Hows' and 'Whys' of Phenomena.

Similar to the cases above of the other three narrators, many of Nsabimana's instances of evaluation and interpretation are derived from clauses that also give us instances of recounting of mental/bodily states (instances 1 to 7 below). However, one of the instances (no. 8) of Nsabimana's evaluation/interpretation stands out due to the fact that it is provided by him after a prompt from the interviewer, when he explicitly asks him to share his thoughts about the genocide in general.

(1)

…

6. Me*<u>, I just did have-I didn't want anything to do with Africa, period</u>*

8. At the time…*I just wanted more—I just wanted to stay away from there*

…

(2)

10. When I stayed…I mean…*I didn't even wanna go anywhere where*…

12. *There were Hutus, any-I didn't wanna be affiliated with-those peopl*e so

…

(3)

26 *I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories*

27. *I don't even think I remember…the place…*

…

(4)

44. And…et cetera et cetera but…*it was just different to see*

45. Where…my dad, and…my uncles came from…

46. And where they are right now

47. *It was just amazing*…

…

(5)

64 And…just…stopped, *coz I got confused I'm like…*

65 This, *I don't know if this is what I'm gonna do*

…

(6)

67. *Being just thinking about what I really need to do*

…

(7)

71 **AN:** Right now…*I feel like I'm getting there*, coz…

72 *I'm leaning on towards one thing*…

73 H-it's computer, computer science…yeah

…

(8)

71. **I: Um…As a young…um…a Rwandan guy Nsabimana**

72. **Who…luckily survived the genocide…**

73. **Um…when you think back, um…**

74. ***What feelings does it bring to you?***

75. ***AN:*** *I just feel like…that sort of stuff should never have happened anyways*

76. ***I: H-hm…***

77. *AN: You know it could have got dealt with*

78. ***shrugs** so different, you know…*

79. *Like the presidents—die every day, you know?*

80. *In history…so you don't have to, like, start killing other race*

81. *Because your president has passed away…you know?*

82. *I just feel like…as soon as their president passed away*

83. *They just felt like the Tutsis are the ones who killed him*

84. *And they just got…angry at with hut-with the Tutsis*

85. *Where they just wanted to clean up…ev-the whole race*

86. *You know? Just clean out, try to clean out the whole race and*

87. *Even though…some Hutus were killed too…but Tutsis were the more…*

88. *You know, they were, they're the ones who lost the most*

89. *[Word unclear] most of their families, you know…*

90. *People who didn't even have authorities in the army*

91. *People who was living like friends probably which-your parents*

92. *Who were trying to killing your parents the next day*

93. *You know because you were Tutsi*

94. *So I, I just felt like…there was no respect for human…beings, period*

(Taken From Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. IV—B)

2.2.3 Examples and Discussion of Resilience

2.2.3. i Recap of Operational Definition of Resilience and Overview of Expressions of Resilience of the Four Rwandan FRGSs From the USC-Shoah Video Archive As aforementioned, the operational definition of resilience in this dissertation is:

> An expression (esp. clause, phrase or sentence) that demonstrates that narrators / Rwandan FRGSs were able to persevere through the ordeals of the genocide; these phrases typically describe very distressing physical, mental, and emotional states of being (e.g. hunger, fear, torture, etc.). Sometimes, they also describe some of the methods that were or are used to cope with the distress.

It should be noted that not every expression of sensemaking can be also categorized as an expression of resilience. For instance, a review of all the four narrators' use of the third technique of sensemaking explicated above—i.e. sensemaking via the use of specific details or micro-sensemaking tools (time & place, mental/corporal states, and evaluation/interpretation)—can reveal that it might be hard for one to find a substantive number of instances of the use of time and place, that can also be judged to be expressions of resilience. However, it is conceivable

that one will find a number of instances of micro-sensemaking via recounting of mental/corporal states and the use of evaluation/interpretation, that also express resilience.

2.2.3. ii Organizational Structure of Resilience Expressions In this section, I will discuss some of the expressions of resilience that can be found in the narratives of all four Rwandan FRGS narratives analyzed in this chapter. For each narrator, I will first discuss the general structure that characterizes the resilience expressions that can be found in all of his/her thematic narratives of lived experience as seen in the transcript excerpt-set of this chapter. I will then focus on some of the micro-sensemaking instances of narrative sensemaking analyzed above, which also express resilience.

2.2.3.iii. I. Freddy Mutanguha's Expressions of Resilience. One can find most of the expressions of resilience from Freddy Mutanguha's narratives of lived experiences during and after the genocide in the excerpts titled:

- "B: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of The Sounds of Killings/Rapes & Militia Celebration/Cheerleading,"
- "C: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Hunger at Jean-Pierre's House & His Mum's Nightly Trips to Feed Him,"
- "D: Recounting Of His Memories of His Last Meeting With His Mother, and the Sounds of His Dying Parents & Siblings,"
- "E: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of The Creation of an Association for Student Genocide-Survivors," and
- "F: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting the Creation of Student-Survivor Association 'Artificial Families'."

In excerpts B, C, and D, Mutanguha recounts his lived experiences during the genocide, while in in excerpts E and F, he recounts his experiences after the genocide during his college years.

Excerpts B, C, and D relay the anxiety, deprivation, and anguish—among other negative mental/corporal states—that Mutanguha had to endure during his hiding at his friend Jean-Pierre's house during the genocide. Unlike Kaligirwa, Ndamwizeye, and Nsabimana who reference prayer, and resignation to fate as some of the methods they utilized in the past to cope with their distress, Mutanguha apparently doesn't discuss such methods, if he used them during the genocide. Rather, he simply stoically recounts the distressing experiences. However, as he recounts those experiences in the present tense—for instance, the memory of the sounds of his parents and siblings being killed—he partakes in actions such as crying or narrative meta-analysis which (in the popular non-medical/psychological context) can be thought of as actions of stress-relief or acceptance and 'letting-go' of one's past:

409. I could listen I could hear the screaming of
410. People being beaten and killed
411. And then…at a certain…it took about 15 minutes
412. And then…I realized that everybody k-was…d-died
413. [Crying] It is so hard to listen to that
414. [Crying] You feel wanting—you feel you want to listen to it
415. [Crying] You feel you want to go and see
416. [Crying] It was so hard I c-each and every time
417. [Crying] And sometime…have…
418. [Crying]…nightmares…and I listen exactly-exactly the same noises
419. [Crying]…come to me

420. [Long pause]…It's so hard to live with and

421. [Crying] I could wish to not listen to it

422. [Crying] Sometime…I feel happy that I have uh…

423. [Crying] listened to my…parents die

424. [Crying] But the other time I say

425. [Crying] I don't have peace because of that

426. [Crying; Long Pause; Sigh]…But, life have to continue

Such a meta-analysis might also qualify to be classified under one of the Rwandan resilience-enaction concepts discussed by Zraly, Rubin and Mukamana (2013)—"*Gukomeza ubuzima*, the moving forward in life by accepting ongoing struggles and fighting for survival" (pg. 413).

In excerpts E and F, Mutanguha recounts the challenges that genocide-survivor students had had at his college prior to their decision to set up an association to support each other "financially, psychologically," and "socially," (Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. I. E) as well as the formation of "artificial families" within that association (Excerpt 2.2.2.ii. I F) so as to foster more unity and self-support among student survivors.

Beyond the above general structure of his resilience expressions, one can find specific examples among Mutanguha's micro-sensemaking instances, that can also be said to express resilience. For instance, there are two instances above from his narrative excerpt "C" that are classified as both recountings of past mental/corporal states, and evaluations and interpretations:

(4)

306. *But I was not used to that*

307. Used to that condition *I was dying with*

308. *With hunger* and everything

309. *My mum was aware about that*

311. *She was coming to see me with food*

…

(5)

322 *And…I had some hope because*

323 *Each and every night, I had hope to see my mum coming*

In instance (4), Mutanguha recounts his experience of hunger. Even though he idiomatically states that he was "dying" from it, Mutanguha clearly *lived* or persevered through it both before and after his mum's nightly trips to feed him (as she was killed later that week). In any case, as he says in the same instance and earlier, Jean-Paul and his family were able to survive on the same diet their whole lives, so it is conceivable that Mutanguha could also have been able to survive on the same diet for much longer. In instance (5), Mutanguha talks about the hope he had to see his mum each night. Thus, in addition to the food she would bring, Mutanguha is implying in those clauses that the mere anticipation of seeing his mother, was a positive thought which helped to comfort him in a time of distress.

2.2.3.iii.II Daniel Ndamwizeye's Expressions of Resilience. Similar to the structures of their expressions of sensemaking above, Daniel Ndamwizeye and Arsene Nsabimana's expressions of resilience differ substantially from those of Freddy Mutanguha and Esperance Kaligirwa. This is because Ndamwizeye and Nsabimana were toddlers in 1994 and thus could not fully comprehend the events of the genocide and their meanings or ramifications. Thus, their expressions of resilience are mostly in reference to events and challenges that they went through *after* the genocide.

Among Ndamwizeye's narratives of his genocide and migration experiences, one can isolate four excerpts in which his expression of resilience is clearest, namely: 1) The Assertion of a New Identity—B: Future Aspirations I, 2) The Assertion of a New Identity—C: Future Aspirations II, 3) Spirituality/Religiosity, and 4) The Obliquely Spoken—A.

In "The Assertion of a New Identity—B: Future Aspirations I," Ndamwizeye indirectly refers to the struggles that he through while living with the unnamed relative in Rwanda who mistreated him, before being rescued by his brother-in-law. While expressing his desire to give motivational speeches based on his past experiences or challenges, he states:

291. So I wanna get that message out there
292. That there are people around the world who
293. Go through a worse…you know who go through a lot
294. You know people who sleep hungry
295. People who sleep on the floor

But later, in the excerpt "The Assertion of a New Identity—C: Future Aspirations II," Ndamwizeye directly refers to the struggles he went through, stating:

323. Um…I wanna write a few books…I think I have a lot of uh stories
324. That I would…want to tell not just my story
325. You know, my…my…being a genocide survivor
326. But there's so much more…there's
327. I've been through a lot and you know…losing my parents
328. Being called names you're dumb you'll never do anything with yourself
329. Um…from stealing because of stealing food…
330. Putting food in my…in my underwear…

331. A lot of stories…

332. I: Hm...

333. DN: You know…um…having sex for money…

334. A lot of things I think, people would learn

335. I think I can teach people a lot of things about life you know…and…

336. One thing the most thing is, you know…

337. I want people to stop whining about…their lives

338. Because it could be worse

Again, in the excerpt "Spirituality/Religiosity," Ndamwizeye directly discusses the challenges he faced in Rwanda after losing his parents, in a response to the interviewer's question, "Where did you get, in your opinion, the strength to keep going on?" After saying that he tries to "…focus on the things that I can do better or…things that I can have control over instead of focusing on things I have no control over," (lines 367 to 369), Ndamwizeye credits God for keeping him alive and well since the genocide:

371. DN: You know…so that's…that keeps me going and…you know and God

372. Has always been there, I'm not…I'm not very religious

373. You know I like to be very um I like to be free spirited

374. Um…but I know that there's you know somebody who guides me

375. Somebody who saved me from the genocide

376. Somebody who takes care of me every day…

377. Somebody who puts a smile on my face every day

378. Regardless of what I go through at the end of the day

379. And, trust me life is not perfect at the moment you know

380. It's-life is not perfect but…just the idea that I have a bed

381. You know I am going to school

382. I'm 21, we're in a recession, right now

383. And I have a great job, um…

384. I have-great-friends, great family…

385. Those are things to be thankful [sic]…you know

The final example that can demonstrate the general presence and structure of resilience expression in the narratives of Daniel Ndamwizeye, is from the excerpt titled "The Obliquely Spoken—A." Again, Ndamwizeye is discussing his enjoyment of motivational speaking, based on his past experiences/challenges. In this particular context, Ndamwizeye is discussing the talks he has given and plans to keep giving to high school students:

468. …so…it's-its good coz it's I love doing it

469. Because, it gives me a chance to…it's-it's kinda therapy you know

470. It's therapy for me…um…coz I didn't I-I-I've never went

471. I've never gone to therapy

472. Except for once, um…and it was, because of an issue that is

473. An issue I w-not yet ready to share yet…

474. So…that's the only time I went for therapy

475. But other than that…I do my own therapy

476. By talking to people…people asking questions

477. You know…people asking you know how do you do this

478. That kind of stuff…

But unlike the above numerous examples of the general presence and structure of his resilience expression, it should be noted that there are only two isolatable examples from Ndamwizeye's micro-sensemaking instances, which can also be interpreted as incidents of resilience expression. These are:

1) Daniel Ndamwizeye's Descriptions of Mental/Corporal States as Resilience Expressions:

61. Uh…*it was very difficult at the beginning*

62. *You know, adjusting to the language*

63. *Uh…adjusting to the culture*

64. *And you know, the kids…the differences*

…

2) Daniel Ndamwizeye's Provision of Evaluation or Interpretation as Resilience Expressions:

81. *Um…so, I had a very great, great, high school uh-car…*

82. *Coz…these are things that I—didn't have…*

83. *When I was growing up…*

84. *I didn't know what it meant to **sighs***

85. *Have people who cared about you*

86. *I…this all…all this was very new to me*

87. *And I make sure that I use all the opportunities*

88. *That I was given*

Besides those two exceptions above, the majority of Ndamwizeye's micro-sensemaking instances are of a triumphant nature. They do not contain phrases that fit my definition of

resilience in this study, i.e. past-tense references to distressing physical, mental, and emotional states of being, and or the methods that were/are used to cope with those states of being.

2.2.3.iii. III. Esperance Kaligirwa's Expressions of Resilience. In the case of Esperance Kaligirwa, one can find expressions of resilience in all three of her narrative excerpts analyzed in this chapter, i.e. "A: First Two Weeks of Genocide," "B: First Execution Survival," and "C: 2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion." However, whereas "A" and "B" have numerous resilience expressions throughout, "C" mostly has the expressions at the beginning, i.e. within the part of the excerpt in which Kaligirwa recounts the last execution attempt that she, her mother, and a few of her siblings and relatives were able to survive, before splitting up to hide and reunite later after at the end of the genocide.

In excerpt "A: First Two Weeks of Genocide": after recounting what she remembers as the 'trigger' of the genocide—i.e. the assassination of President Habyarimana, Kaligirwa describes the anxiety that her and her family had to bear with, knowing that "everybody is gonna be killed," but "you don't know when they're coming." She also discusses her loss of faith in God—"there is no way God can exist," implying that she felt helpless during the ordeal. She also recounts her family's lack of electricity, food, and water, and the visits to her house by soldiers in search of war loot.

In excerpt "B: First Execution Survival," Kaligirwa recounts the first specific episode in which her family survived an execution attempt. Up until that point, soldiers had simply come to threaten execution, so as to loot property. There are four lines in this excerpt—i.e. 30 to 33, which are arguably the clearest reflection of resilience as seen in the above operational definition (the quote below starts at line 26):

26. And then, they stopped us they said you know what we have to line

27. We have—you have to line [gestures, making a line]
28. Like…like a line
29. And then, we gonna use one gunshot to kill you guys…just one…
30. I remember I was so…so afraid I like you know what…
31. I'm not even gonna watch my mother died or my siblings die
32. I'm just gonna go in the first—first line…
33. I'm just gonna be killed…first

As aforementioned above, excerpt "C: 2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion" mostly contains resilience expressions at the beginning, in the semi-autonomous "2nd Execution Survival" part. In this part, Kaligirwa describes the 2nd and last specific episode of survival during the genocide, with the implied horror that comes with trying to escape death. However, the most pivotal part of this excerpt vis-à-vis the expression of resilience and its positive effects, is the set of lines from 20 to 33:

20. And then they tried to—they tried to open the door…
21. And then I ss-my mother was going to open it
22. I said you know what
23. They gonna kill us anyway just don't open it let them open
24. Don't open for them they just gonna kill us anyway
25. And then I heard this um…
26. He was our neighbor
27. He said…you know what this room this room you can't open this
28. This room…the door is not working…
29. Apparently he saw us going in that room

30. He said this room is n-you can't even open it
31. There's nothing in there
32. You can't even go there—they left
33. That's how-we survived…

In these lines, especially between lines 21 and 24, Kaligirwa recounts an expression of resilience via grim bravery and resignation: "They gonna kill us anyway just don't open it let them open…they just gonna kill us anyway." That expression, it can be argued, saved Kaligirwa's life as well as the lives of her mother, her siblings, and the other relatives that were hiding in that room with her. In the rest of the excerpt, the expression of resilience is mostly abstract. Kaligirwa implies in her narrative the distress her and the surviving members of her family were undergoing during their separation and final hiding. However, one can still isolate specific lines, sets of lines, or even single words throughout, in which Kaligirwa specifically talks about the distress she or her families were undergoing, thus demonstrating that they were able to somehow pull through it. One such example is the set of lines from 103 to 107, in which she recounts moving from one house to another during her hiding. She recounts the scenes of destruction such as dilapidated houses and dead bodies in the streets, and the fear and misery they triggered in her.

Meanwhile, Kaligirwa's instances of micro-sensemaking that also demonstrate her own and her family members' resilience, can be found in her references to time and place, and her description of mental/corporal states. Both these sets of instances are found in her narrative A, "First Two Weeks of the Genocide." In them, she recounts the difficulty of being confined in their home without food, water and utilities, and the feeling of hopelessness that resulted in her loss of faith, despite her mum's constant encouragement to pray.

Kaligirwa's References to Time & Place as Resilience Expressions:

(7)

22. We couldn't go ***outside***, you know how um…

…

*23. **Back home in Africa…the houses are fenced***

…

(8)

26. You can't even like see ***outside***…

27. We were ***like in prison, in our home***…

28. We couldn't even go ***outside***…

…

(9)

27. We were just stuck—***home***—waiting

…

(11)

34. You know I don't even know what we ate—we didn't have food ***anywhere***

…

(12)

39. Because our…I don't know how to call—our house maid—maybe?

40. He was a Tutsi, so he—he couldn't even go ***outside*** to get food

Kaligirwa's Descriptions of Mental/Corporal States as Resilience Expressions:

(3)

14 **EK:** You just don't—I don't kn—like *I don't know how to describe like—you waiting for death to come anytime*…

…

15 And *you don't know* when they're coming…*you don't know* what's gonna happen, y—just—horrible

…

(4)

18. *I lost faith* I was like…
19. There's no way God…can exist
20. So *I lost faith* but my mother used to say you need to pray every time—you need to pray

2.2.3.iii. IV. Arsene Nsabimana's Expressions of Resilience. Generally, one can find most expressions of resilience in Arsene Nsabimana's narratives of genocide and migration, embedded in the excerpt, "A: Memories: Forgetting and Remembering," in which he recounts his memories of the night (of April 6th) during which his parents and siblings were killed. In the other two excerpts analyzed in this chapter, i.e. "B: Diaspora and Return, and General Reflections on the Genocide," and "C: Forgetting and Forgiving," Nsabimana's expressions of resilience are minor and or indirect.

In excerpt A, from line 30 to 107, Nsabimana recounts his dad's summoning of the entire family into his (and his wife's) bedroom after learning of President Habyarimana's assassination; the arrival of the Interahamwe militia, the interrogation of his father and the shooting to death of his family; his arousal from a fainting spell with a gun-wound and his disorientation among the bloodied corpses of his family members; his seeking of refuge at his neighbors' house; and his

relocation later to a internally displaced people's camp at his elementary school, where his aunt would find him. Clearly, all these events are traumatic, especially to a six year old child. And yet, Nsabimana is somehow able to recount them.

From line 117 to 135, Nsabimana also discusses a method he uses to cope with the distress of those memories; "I try my best to forgot everything that happened," including the names of his parents and siblings, "Because the names always bring up the picture of how they looked and everything and…bring more emotions" (Line 131 to 133). Thus, based on the definition of resilience as stated above—i.e. past-tense references to distressing physical, mental, and emotional states of being, and or the methods that were/are used to cope with those states of being, excerpt A is a good demonstration of the expression of resilience by Arsene Nsabimana.

However, excerpts B and C also contain some minor resilience expressions. For excerpt B, this expression is best exemplified in lines 21 to 24, in which Nsabimana recounts his uncle's suggestion to him, and his reaction to it, of visiting Rwanda after living in North America for over ten years (line 24 underlined for emphasis):

21. **AN:** They-c-I, they came back, I came to visit them
22. And that's when they're like you should come back to Africa and visit
23. I was like, ah…I don-I don't know…
24. <u>I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories</u>

That last line is also supportive of Nsabimana's strategy of coping via forgetting. One can also argue that Nsabimana's reference above to "tough memories" indicates the latent presence of distress or anguish from those memories that he lives with or tries to overcome on a daily basis. Thus, if his functionality via school, work and other areas of life has not been affected, we can state—at least tentatively—that he has persevered.

In excerpt C, Nsabimana is discussing the overall message he would like viewers to get from his testimony, which he sums up as the "need to stop fighting," and to forgive one another. We can isolate examples of resilience from at least two sets of lines in the excerpt, i.e. 11 to 15, and 34 to 42. In lines 11 to 15, Nsabimana talks about the dissolution of the anger he once felt towards Hutus, "Like to me I can sit down and talk to a hut-to a Hutu right now and you know, I wouldn't feel any sort of like anger towards that person…". And in lines 34 to 42, he again addresses the precise method (or at least one of them) that he has used to recover from his trauma, and to forgive murderers of his parents:

35. **AN:** I mean, it's like-it's all…of like forget-forgive and forget kinda thing…

36. **I**: H-hm…

37. **AN:** Start getting comfortable talking about it

38. You know…forgetting a little bits and pieces about it

39. I: Yeah…

40. **AN:** And…yeah that's how it came about just felt comfortable

…

41. I just forgot…little bit pieces-of-about it…and yeah…

Finally, there are only three micro-sensemaking instances by Nsabimana which can also be interpreted as expressions of resilience. In the first two, he recounts his feelings aversion towards Hutus and his desire to stay away from them and from Africa at large, and in third instance, he utters the aforementioned statement, "that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories."

Nsabimana's Descriptions of Mental/Corporal States—

Also Evaluations/Interpretations—as Resilience Expressions:

(1)

…

5. Me, *I just did have-I didn't want anything to do with Africa, period*

…

9. At the time…*I just wanted more—I just wanted to stay away from there*

…

(2)

10. When I stayed…I mean…*I didn't even wanna go anywhere where*…

…

13. *There were Hutus, any-I didn't wanna be affiliated with-those peopl*e so

…

(3)

28. *I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories*

2.3 Answer(s) to Secondary Question

2.3. i Recap & Explication of Question

As aforementioned, the secondary question relevant to this chapter (secondary question number one) that I will attempt to answer in this section, is: Are Rwandan FRGS narratives affected by social elements such as: societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality, and if so, how? I formulated this question based on the knowledge I had about the genocide from personal experience (information given to me by Rwandan family members both in Uganda and Rwanda), from the literature review in the previous chapter, and after completing an early preliminary analysis on the four survivors/former refugees'

testimonies, and realizing that the five discrete elements listed above were apparent in the testimonies of the four individuals. For instance:

- Societal gender & sexual normativity: In the context of this dissertation, this term refers to ways in which various traits and behaviors perceived in the personalities and relations between men and women are judged normal or abnormal by a society—specifically, Rwanda and the USA, the two countries/societies of abode for the four FRGSs whose narratives are analyzed in this chapter. This definition is supported by Feminist and Queer theory studies such as those by Jackson 2006. Previous research and documentation of the genocide (e.g. Desforges, 1999) has referenced characteristics such as an order of killing in which women and children were often—though not always—saved for last, and the sexual and other forms of abuse against women that were often used as tools of torture by soldiers and militia before killing their victims. Both these characteristics are arguably indicative of the presence of societal gender & sexual normativity in the Rwandan genocide. However, the specific roles of societal gender normativity in each of the lives of the four Rwandan FRGS' analyzed in this chapter, is more nuanced. In the section below, I will provide examples of these specific roles from each of the FRGS' narratives.
- Socioeconomic status: All survivors / former refugees whose narratives are analyzed in this chapter, were from upper middle class or elite backgrounds before the genocide. This characteristic is starkly exemplified by the narrative told by Mutanguha about the living conditions of Jean-Pierre and his family. Nsabimana also recounts that his father was the head of the national electric utility company, and his uncle later left him in boarding school in Canada before going to work in Kenya.

Kaligirwa and Ndamwizeye both mention that their parents were business entrepreneurs prior to the genocide, and their siblings made use of their families' resources to travel to Europe and the US for tourism and education. Thus, our goal in this section is to investigate some of the specific ways the socioeconomic statuses of these four FRGS influenced their genocide survival, and how they have continue to influence their sensemaking and resilience formulations and expressions.

- Perceived breadth and cohesion of FRGS' social networks: This was arguably the most important factor vis-à-vis individuals' opportunities/chances of survival during the genocide. It was also vital after their survival; relatives or friends provided financial, emotional, and other forms of support. In the section below, I will show some relevant examples of the influence of perceived social networks on the four FRGS genocide survival, and how they influence their sensemaking and resilience formulations and expressions.
- Personal dispositions: The relevant examples from the four FRGS' narratives below will necessarily reflect the personalities of their principals. For instance: Freddy Mutanguha speaks not only with stoicism, but also with the knowledge, reflections, and authority of an advocate and leader; Daniel Ndamwizeye speaks with the passion, confidence, and even sophistication of a new American activist; Esperance Kaligirwa recounts her experiences in an earnest, calm, yet at times sanguine manner; and Arsene Nsabimana is a quiet, studious young man who speaks softly, in short sentences, and repeatedly mentions that he tries his best to forget the events of 1994.
- Religiosity/spirituality: A total of three out of the four individuals whose narratives are analyzed in this chapter, make references to words or concepts such as 'God,'

> ‘praying,’ ‘faith,’ and even ‘spirituality.’ This, I submit, is indicative of these individuals’ subscription to concept(s) or belief-system(s) involving omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnibenevolent power(s) beyond the realm of human understanding and ability; powers—or deities or a Deity—that can only help us if we *believe* or have *faith* in them or Her. In the following section, I will provide examples of some the specific instances of these religiosity/spirituality discussions or mentions.

The most important reason as to why the examination of these elements is important, is that they might play a pivotal role in the formulation of Rwandan FRGS’ sensemaking, and the expression of resilience. In addition to the narrative and discourse analysis carried out in this chapter, I believe we can use the above social elements or concepts to interrogate these FRGS’ testimonies and narratives, so as to arrive at more efficacious interpretations of their formulation and expression of sensemaking and resilience. In the next part of this section, I will organize the answers to the secondary question recapped above, according to the five discrete social elements listed also listed above. I will discuss the modes in which each of the four FRGSs were influenced by these social elements either via a general discussion of the relevant biographical aspects of an FRGS’ life according to his/her testimony; or by utilizing one or two of the narratives analyzed in the previous section for each of the four FRGS’ to isolate instances of the influence of the social elements on the narrative; or a combination of these two methods.

2.3. ii Specific Examples of Instances of the Influence of (Five) Social Elements to Rwandan FRGS’ Narratives

2.3. ii. I. Societal Gender & Sexual Normativity (SGN). In my search for the ways that this element influences each of the four Rwandan FRGS’ narratives, I am looking out for key words and phrases that are indicative or implicative of said influences. However, the absence of

such words in the narratives of someone whose life can reasonably be suspected of having been influenced somehow by SGN, can also be telling.

Freddy Mutanguha. The most emblematic phrase of SGN from any of Mr. Mutanguha's narratives, is from his excerpt 2.2.2.ii. I—"D: *Recounting Memories of His Last Meeting With His Mother, and the Sounds of His Dying Parents & Siblings*" (Line 394 underlined for emphasis):

384. I [had] never [seen] her in that condition in that
385. In that mood since I born
386. That was my first time
387. [Pause/Sniffle] So uh…She told me, many things
388. And [I] asked her, and say
389. What will happen
390. If you die I don't die
391. Because I'm in hiding here
392. You are exposed…
393. Everybody knows who you are…
394. He [sic] say…<u>if you survive, be a man</u>
395. [Long pause]…This…is the last word I heard from her

One can reasonably assert that the phrase "…be a man" is a heteronormative one. It implies that there are various traits or qualities—such as strength, resolve, fortitude, bravery, etc.—that are treasured in societies worldwide, but are often thought of (<u>falsely</u>—thanks to perennial and ubiquitous regimes and traditions of sexism worldwide) as being intrinsic mostly

to male human beings. Thus in the excerpt above, Mutanguha's mother is rallying him to be brave, strong, hardworking, etc., after her impending death.

Besides the above phrase, as an apparently straight man—i.e. via sexual orientation, Mutanguha's other references to gender and sexuality in his narratives are also indicative of heteronormativity. For instance, he discusses the difficulty of going to a high school that had just been turned into a co-ed boarding school, having previously been an all-girls boarding school. He discusses his meeting and courtship of his current wife, and the birth of their daughter. And he even talks about the formation of "artificial families" within the student survivors' association (Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I F), composed of a "father," "mother," and "children," with the mother and father being the leaders of the unit who have to behave exemplarily and guide and help the children.

Daniel Ndamwizeye. There are at least two major isolatable instances that reveal the influence of SGN in Daniel Ndamwizeye's life as a genocide survivor and refugee while in Africa, and as a former refugee in the USA. The first instance comes to light as he discusses his future aspirations (2.2.2.ii.II. 2. *The Assertion of a New Identity*—C: *Future Aspirations* II). He asserts that he would like to write "a few books," most probably referring to nonfiction autobiographical or self-help genre books. This is because, he says, "I think I have a lot of uh stories…" (Line 333 underlined for emphasis):

323. Um…I wanna write a few books…I think I have a lot of uh stories
324. That I would…want to tell not just my story
325. You know, my…my…being a genocide survivor
326. But there's so much more…there's
327. I've been through a lot and you know…losing my parents

328. Being called names you're dumb you'll never do anything with yourself

329. Um…from stealing because of stealing food…

330. Putting food in my…in my underwear…

331. A lot of stories…

332. I: Hm...

333. DN: You know…um…having sex for money…

334. A lot of things I think, people would learn

335. I think I can teach people a lot of things about life you know…and…

In other words, "having sex for money" is a remarkable, "reportable event," (Labov, 2006, p. 38) that warrants to be told in a book. After all, in most societies around the world today including in the USA and Rwanda, having sex for money (prostitution) is illegal and is perceived by many people as an immoral activity, regardless of the reasons as to why one is doing it.

The second instance is remarkable because of the fact that its absence via actual words or phrases in his narratives from the USC-Shoah testimony, might be the clue to its arguable presence in the life of Ndamwizeye. In that testimony, Ndamwizeye does not directly address issues of gender or sexuality, save for the above perfunctory mention of "having sex for money." But as aforementioned, Ndamwizeye—as of 2015—is an LGBT advocate, and according to at least two news articles, he is an openly gay man who 'came out of the closet' in 2009 (Clement, 2013 & Yellin, 2014). This implies that during his USC-Shoah testimony in 2008, he was living as a closeted gay man. The newspaper articles mention that Ndamwizeye came out because he felt free to do so, living in the USA where LGBT rights are more respected than in other countries, including Rwanda and Zambia, where he resided before. One of the articles also mention the fact when he came out, there were mixed reactions (i.e. of support and displeasure)

from family and friends, which is why he started advocating for LGBT rights in addition to sharing his story of survival from the genocide. Overall thus, the absence of mentions of his sexuality by Ndamwizeye in his testimony and its remarkable nature—the fact that he is a gay man from a country and continent where gay rights are not accepted, speaks to the enigmatic influence of SGN in Ndamwizeye's life as a genocide survivor and former refugee in the USA.

Esperance Kaligirwa. In Esperance Kaligirwa's narratives, there are at least two main isolatable modes by which SGN influenced Kaligirwa's own and her family's genocide survival and sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression. These modes of influence occur in excerpts 2.2.2.ii. III. A—*First Two Weeks of Genocide*, and 2.2.2.ii. III. B—*First Execution Survival*. The first mode of influence is revealed in lines 77 to 87 in 2.2.2.ii. III. A, and the second mode is revealed via line 74 in 2.2.2.ii. III. A, and via lines 2 to 13 in 2.2.2.ii. III. B.

In lines 77 to 87 in 2.2.2.ii. III. A (*First Two Weeks of Genocide*), Kaligirwa recounts a horrific incident in which soldiers who had come to collect war loot one day didn't find anything valuable in the house, as they had taken her family's cash-on-hand and most of their property (cars, electronics, etc.) daily for around two weeks since April 6th, the day the genocide began. Thus, in lieu of property or money, they demanded to take her little sister:

77. And then…next time they would come and they would say
78. We are going to take your sister
79. Maybe they are going to rape her
80. They w—they—they w—they w—you can do anything
81. **I: Hm…**
82. **EK:** They would take—they—one time they took my little sister…***sighs****
83. They [pause] took her for…almost for five hours

84. **I: Hm-hm…**

85. **EK:** And then she came back for five—they brought her back

86. We didn't—we didn't even ask her

87. We didn't even talk about it, we didn't know what they did to her…

In both line 74 in 2.2.2.ii. III. A, and lines 2 to 13 in 2.2.2.ii. III. B, we come across the second mode of the influence of SGN in Kaligirwa's own and her family's survival, and sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression. Both those (sets of) lines imply an alpha-male role for her older brother. One can thus reasonably presume that he had taken on the mantle of head of the household after the passing of the Kaligirwa children's father (he had died of cancer in 1993). In line 74 in 2.2.2.ii. III. A, Kaligirwa casually uses her brother as the subject of a clause, while emphasizing that they had run out of money and property with which to bribe the soldiers (clause underlined for emphasis): "Because we didn't have any—my brother didn't have any money." And in 2.2.2.ii. III. B, Kaligirwa states:

2. And then, the next time…they came
3. they said they were looking for my brother—my old brother
4. That they wanna kill him
5. But my brother—went hiding, like we had like a um—chicken, like chicken we had a house for chickens
6. So he went to hiding
7. In that house
8. But we didn't know where he went, really we didn't know
9. Because every time they would come we were like running around
10. Like, everyone would run…so we didn't know where he went

11. So we said, we don't know where he went

12. They searched for him, they couldn't find him

13. And then they said, you know what, now we're going to kill you guys

In addition to demonstrating the aforementioned alpha-male role of her brother, this mini-excerpt also supports the aforementioned order of genocide that Desforges (1999) and others have discussed before; apparently, the soldiers would have preferred to only kill her brother that day. But since they couldn't find him, they would have to settle for the women and children.

Arsene Nsabimana. In comparison to all the other FRGSs above, there were no notable modes of influence from SGN in Arsene Nsabimana's narratives.

2.3. ii. II. Socioeconomic Status. The modes of influence of this social element can be revealed to us via direct or indirect references to, or implication of FRGS' family wealth and or social status, versus others' families.

Freddy Mutanguha. Freddy Mutanguha's biological father had been a librarian, his step-father was a magistrate, and his mother was a primary school teacher. As aforementioned, the starkest demonstration of the influence of his socioeconomic status to his genocide survival and sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression, is in his narrative (2.2.2.ii.I) of his taking refuge at Jean-Pierre's house, his childhood best friend who was a peasant farmer:

295. And… Jean Pierre…was living in a very poor family

296. They had to eat one time a—one time a day

297. No breakfast no lunch but supper

298. And…when you look at things that they

299. Have to feed themselves—um

300. First…one day is only potatoes—sweet potatoes

301. The…following day probably
302. Only beans without any other things
303. He was…happy with uh—that fam—that-that condition because
304. Since he born, it was like that
305. But he was used that—to that conditions
306. But I was not used to that
307. Used to that condition I was dying with
308. With hunger and everything

We can thus say that the most significant influence of Mutanguha's socioeconomic status to his genocide survival and sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression, was via the experience of mental/corporal states that were remarkable to him because of the deprivation and discomfort he was in during the genocide, which he wasn't accustomed to. However, Mutanguha's socioeconomic status was also pivotal to his resilience in a different regard. After the end of the genocide, Mutanguha was able to reconnect with his relatives—who were also of upper-middle class/elite backgrounds, resume schooling, and later get a good job after completion of tertiary education.

Daniel Ndamwizeye. During the first few minutes of his testimony video, Ndamwizeye is asked about the professions/livelihoods of his late parents, and he states that his father was a beer manufacturer and distributor, and his mother was a homemaker. Somewhat similar to Mutanguha's case above, the major influence of the Ndamwizeye's socioeconomic status to his sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression, is the deprivation and discomfort he experienced after the death of his parents, during his turbulent stay with his older brother and his family. Ndamwizeye's experience is also similar to Mutanguha's via the contribution of his pre-

established socioeconomic status (prior to the genocide) to his resilience. Because his older sisters had earlier taken advantage of their father's wealth to come to the USA for education, they were later on able to also help Ndamwizeye to join them as a refugee.

Esperance Kaligirwa. The afore-discussed excerpt 2.2.2.ii. III. A clearly indicates the wealth that Kaligirwa's family had. Apparently, they had a big house in a city suburb with many rooms in which the family members (and other visiting relatives) would hide in during the ominous visits by the soldiers or militias (and space in the backyard for chicken coops); she mentions that prior to the genocide and the subsequent siege of their house, they had had utilities including phone service and plenty of food; and they had a significant amount of cash-on-hand and valuable property with which to bribe soldiers daily for two weeks after the start of the genocide. However, the most important influence of Kaligirwa's family's socioeconomic status to her and their genocide survival and sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression, was via the good will that her father's generosity availed them. Neighbors and other people who knew of that generosity kept intervening throughout the genocide to save their lives and to provide them with refuge, care, and moral support. That mode of influence is evident in 2.2.2.ii. III A line 39 "Maybe, like people who knew us would come and buy food for us," 2.2.2.ii. III B—*First Execution Survival*, lines 35 to 49 "And then all of the sudden these people came and then they said…you know what these people they're not en—enemies they are really good people you don't have to kill them…" and throughout 2.2.2.ii. III C—*2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion*. Later, Kaligirwa was also able to make use of her family's resources to emigrate to the USA. Towards the end of the interview, Kaligirwa also reveals that her father left them a total of three houses, and her mother currently rents out the home in which they survived the genocide for additional income.

Arsene Nsabimana. Nsabimana's family was also considerably wealthy. As aforementioned, he stated that his dad had been the head of the national electric utility company, and his uncle later left him in a boarding school in Canada prior to his return to Kenya as an expatriate. However, as with other aspects of his biography and reportable events vis-à-vis genocide survival and sensemaking/resilience formulation and expression, we do not have enough content from his narratives—thanks to his reserved disposition and stance of deliberate amnesia—for us to further explore or interpret the influence of socioeconomic status on his life as a survivor and former refugee.

2.3. ii. III. Perceived Breadth and Cohesion of Social Networks. The main method we can use to investigate the influence of perceived breadth and cohesion of social networks (BSN) in the lives of the four FRGS whose narratives are being analyzed in this chapter, is to look in the FRGS' narratives for direct or indirect references to, or implication of family members, friends, acquaintances, and even strangers of note in the FRGS' narratives in the context of actively surviving the genocide and formulating and expressing sensemaking and resilience. In this context, the term 'actively surviving the genocide' includes modes or actions such as being saved by a Hutu friend or stranger via pleas and or bribes to a soldier or militiaperson, hiding, provision of food and comfort, etc. In other words, we are asking the questions: Based on this particular FRGS' narratives, A) who is/are the person(s) who helped in saving his/her life, and who is/are the person(s) that have played and or continue to play a major role in his/her sensemaking and resilience, and B) what was/is the relationship between said savior and or sensemaking and resilience agent, and the FRGS?

Freddy Mutanguha. For Freddy Mutanguha, the influence of this element is clearly most visible in his narratives 2.2.2.ii.I A—*Recounting of His Seeking of Refuge With Jean-*

Pierre, E—*Recounting of The Creation of an Association for Student Genocide-Survivors*, and F—*Recounting the Creation of Student-Survivor Association 'Artificial Families'*. In those narratives, Mutanguha recounts/discusses the role of his childhood best friend Jean-Pierre in his genocide survival via hiding him, recounts/discusses why and how him and his fellow student survivors decided to form an association for mutual support, and the creation of 'artificial families' (administrative or self-help units) within that association. Mutanguha was also able to benefit from his social network by getting a good job after graduation (director of the Kigali Genocide Memorial Center). Towards the end of his testimony, he reveals that a friend of his sister had previously introduced him to James Smith, the director of the UK-based Aegis Trust nonprofit while he was still in college. By coincidence, James Smith's brother Stephen—who is the director of the USC-Shoah foundation—arrived in Rwanda right after Mutanguha's graduation to interview prospective staff members for the new memorial center. Mutanguha heard of the recruitment drive and went for an initial interview, which he passed. But later, it turned out that the second interview was with James Smith, who already had a good impression of Mutanguha from their initial meeting. Thus, both the Smith brothers eagerly acceded to his hiring.

Daniel Ndamwizeye. The influence of perceived BSN in the life of Ndamwizeye plays a role mostly via nuclear and extended family. As aforementioned, his brother became his guardian after the passing of his parents, and with the help of his sisters, he emigrated to the US in 2005. But beyond the roles of family members, Ndamwizeye's narratives don't demonstrate a significant influence of perceived BSN via the roles of friends, acquaintances, and strangers of note in his active genocide survival, sensemaking, and resilience.

Esperance Kaligirwa. In contrast to Ndamwizeye, all three of Kaligirwa's narratives are filled with substantive examples of the involvement in her own and her family's survival and resilience of extended family members, neighbors, friends, and strangers or village-folk that knew of the generosity and good reputation of her family. Her first mention of aid-givers is in her narrative about the first two weeks of the genocide, during which they couldn't leave their home. From line 34 to line 39 (underlined for emphasis) Kaligirwa notes that during that siege they did not have food, and she seems to vaguely recall people—it is unclear who they were exactly—bringing them food:

34. You know I don't even know what we ate—we didn't have food anywhere
35. We didn't have food
36. Because our…I don't know how to call—our house maid—maybe?
37. He was a Tutsi, so he—he couldn't even go outside to get food
38. So, we stayed home…
39. <u>Maybe, like people who knew us would come and buy food for us</u>

In narrative 2.2.2.ii. III C, Kaligirwa recounts her second and final execution survival, final hiding and reunion—along with her mum and a few other relatives, and the killing of her other family members. There are at least seven individuals or groups of individuals in that narrative whose relationships can be said to have been of influence to her survival, sensemaking and resilience. The first group of individuals is composed of her mother, two brothers, a nephew, and a female cousin; these are the individuals—along with herself—who survived execution on June 11th. The second individual to feature in this narrative is the neighbor who saved the afore-listed group of survivors. Kaligirwa recounts that after one of the militiamen knocked on the

door of the room in which she, her mum the other relatives were hiding, a neighbor told the militiaman to just move on, as the door seemed stuck and the room was probably empty:

25. And then I heard this um…
26. He was our neighbor
27. He said…you know what this room this room you can't open this
28. This room…the door is not working…
29. Apparently he saw us going in that room
30. He said this room is n-you can't even open it
31. There's nothing in there
32. You can't even go there—they left

The next group of individuals discussed by Kaligirwa in this narrative is that of the family members that were taken for execution.

40. So—they took them my they took my uh—my brother, Guido
41. My—my sister Kaitesi, my…little sister Rose, my auntie Antoinette, and my…other relative Paul
42. They took five people
43. **I: H-hm…**
44. **EK:** So we don't know where they took them apparently they killed them…so
45. **I: And that was the last…**
46. **EK:** Their la-yeah, that was their last time…
47. **I: Yeah…**
48. **EK:** I know it was June 11

After recounting the last execution survival, Kaligirwa narrates the modes of their final hiding. Her two brothers were split up between two families, and Kaligirwa and her mother were taken to the home of a Hutu neighbor:

83. We stayed there for a week
84. He used to go…maybe he was Interahamwe
85. He used to go maybe kill people and then he would come at night
86. But he didn't touch us or do anything to us
87. He knew-he knew my father he was a neighbor
88. He knew my father he say you know your father was a—nice man
89. I'm just gonna hide you guys
90. He would go, during the day
91. We didn't know what he was-he would do during the day
92. But he would come at night, he would feed us
93. He had uh…he had a wife there
94. The wife would cook—he would feed us ***shrugs***
95. He would give us—we would take showers
96. He had a like a small house
97. But we woul-…he hide us for-two weeks

But after staying at his house for a week, another family friend came to take Kaligirwa to his house, leaving her mum by herself at the Hutu (militiamember?) neighbor's house.

Beyond her recounting of the events of April through July 1994, the influence of Kaligirwa's perceived BSN is limited to her mother, older sister who also lives in the US, and her two brothers. Towards the end of the testimony/interview, Kaligirwa asserts that one of the

methods she uses to cope with trauma from the events of the genocide is to occasionally call her mother, and to send goods—e.g. clothes, toys, etc.—to orphans (it is unclear whether these children are strangers, or relatives). She also reveals that meeting and talking to fellow survivors in the US has played a part in her healing process.

Arsene Nsabimana. By far, the most prominent agent in Arsene Nsabimana's post-genocide sensemaking and resilience formulation and expression, is his uncle Gerome. Even though his answers/explications and narratives are brief, one can clearly discern the prominence of Gerome in his life, who seems to have become a father figure to him after the passing of his parents. Beyond Gerome, the influence of perceived BSN in Nsabimana's life can be seen through his mentions of the aunt in Rwanda that picked him up from the displaced people's camp at his school, along with the neighbors who hid him for a few days after his execution survival. And of course, one can argue that hard as he might try to forget them, Nsabimana's murdered parents and siblings will always play a crucial part in his sensemaking and resilience formulation vis-à-vis his genocide survival.

2.3. ii. IV. Personal Disposition. In this context, the influence of personal dispositions on FRGS' narratives can be judged via at least two sets of attributes, namely:

1. Verbal: FRGS' apparent introversion or extroversion, or willingness to talk. This can be measured by comparing the total running time of one FRGS' testimony video to another's, and the number and length of the consequential thematic narratives from an FRGS' testimony video. One can also differentiate between FRGS' that usually volunteer information without being asked versus those who are often prodded along by the interviewer.

- FRGS' habitual word choices, e.g. frequent use of superlatives vs. comparatives or simple adjectives in description ("I was in a lot of pain," vs. "I was in *excruciating* pain!").

2. Nonverbal: Perceived FRGS' paralanguage and nonverbal traits during narration, e.g. being straight-faced vs. smiling/laughing/giggling vs. crying, expansive use of gestures vs. non-use, use of varying tones vs. monotonic delivery, etc.

Freddy Mutanguha. Out of the four testimony videos analyzed in this chapter, Freddy Mutanguha's video has the longest running time, i.e. four hours and 53 minutes. Overall, his testimony can be divided into three parts, i.e. his family background and childhood, his genocide survival experiences, and his life since the end of the genocide through today. He speaks in a relaxed manner using long sentences, uses a good range of tone variance, and even though he is hampered by his limited English vocabulary, he provides clear descriptions of people, events, emotions, etc. During his narration of the killing of his parents and siblings, he weeps but keeps talking. Throughout the rest of the interview, he speaks with various facial expressions, smiles and giggles occasionally, and he uses a good amount of gestures while speaking.

Daniel Ndamwizeye. Ndamwizeye's testimony has a running time of one hour and 24 minutes. His testimony generally covers his experiences after the killing of his parents—while living with his older brother in Rwanda; his transition between Rwanda and the USA in Zambia; and his experiences in the USA in high school and college; he also talks about his future aspirations. Ndamwizeye explicitly mentions a couple of times during the interview that there a number of topics he is not ready to talk about yet, e.g. the identity of his guardian—I only know that it was his older brother, from reading the newspaper articles in which he later revealed it; the event that prompted him to go for therapy; and "having sex for money". However, Ndamwizeye

talks in detail about the topics he is most enthusiastic about, such as his future aspirations, and his pleasant experience in high school and college in the USA. He also does a fairly thorough job of describing his unpleasant experiences in Rwanda and his turbulent transition in Zambia. Ndamwizeye speaks in variety of tones; smiles and giggles often; uses expansive gestures; and while recounting the day his brother in law picked him up from his brother's house in Rwanda to take him to Zambia, he sheds tears of joy.

Esperance Kaligirwa. At one hour and 58 minutes, Esperance Kaligirwa's video is the second longest after Mutanguha's, and considerably longer (34 mins) than Ndamwizeye's. She speaks calmly, but in long sentences, and is reflective while she speaks, with a good number of evaluations or meta-analyses of her own experiences. She smiles occasionally, shakes her head in wonderment, often whispers exclamations such as "Oh my God…". Overall, if one were to create a spectrum, with Daniel Ndamwizeye—the most extroverted/animated FRGS on side, and Arsene Nsabimana—the most introverted FRGS on the other, Kaligirwa and Mutanguha would be in the middle of that spectrum.

Arsene Nsabimana. As I note in the previous sentence, Nsabimana is the most apparently introverted FRGS out of all the four. Whereas he doesn't explicitly refuse to answer some questions like Ndamwizeye, he often states that he doesn't remember or 'isn't sure,' as he has tried his best to forget as many details as possible about the genocide over the years. He almost doesn't smile at all during the interview, but neither does he cry. And he uses few gestures, mostly sitting still and speaking softly and monotonically throughout the interview.

2.3. ii. V. Religiosity/Spirituality. The intensity of an FRGS' subscription to concepts or belief systems involving omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnibenevolent power(s) or deities or a Deity, can be measured by the number of mentions—in positively significant

contexts—uttered by an FRGS during his/her testimony. As in, the mere mention of the word or name 'God' by an FRGS—e.g. the way Kaligirwa uses it in exclamation ("Oh my God…") is not enough for us to assert that that FRGS believes in God, or is religious or spiritual. However, if an FRGS repeatedly states, "I think God helped me go through it," then we can assert that indeed, he/she believes in God. By this measure, the intensity of each of the four FRGS' religiosity/spirituality varies.

Freddy Mutanguha. Mutanguha's first perfunctory mention of the word 'church' is in segment 119, as he discusses the Easter vacation of 1994, during which the genocide started. Later, in segments 290, 291, and 292, he substantively addresses the issue of his religiosity. He reveals that prior to the genocide, he had been raised Roman Catholic but wasn't very observant. After, the genocide, he became recalcitrant towards religion, he says, because of the roles of some members of the clergy during the genocide as accessories or abettors to killings. Eventually, Mutanguha resumed going to church, but he now belongs to a Pentecostal church (his wife is also a member of the same church).

Daniel Ndamwizeye. In contrast to Mutanguha's case above, the role of religiosity/spirituality in Ndamwizeye's narratives is much more significant. In segment 13, he mentions that his family had been Seventh Day Adventists. However, his first substantive discussion of religious/spiritual faith is in segment 41, as he recounts the day his brother in law picked him from his older brother's house in Rwanda to take him to Zambia. "My prayers were answered…I had always prayed to God," he says, before weeping. Organized religion also prayed a major direct role in Ndamwizeye's life as a refugee in transition in Zambia. After the departure of his brother in law (to come to the USA) and the expatriate family with which he was staying (who had to go back to their home country, DR Congo), a pastor in Lusaka (the capital of

Zambia) took him in to live with his family while he waited for his visa application to be approved. In segments 70 and 72, in reply to a question from the interviewer about the source of his strength through adversity, Ndamwizeye explicitly credits God. However, he tempers that praise with a slight disclaimer, saying he is "not very religious—I like to be free-spirited," but "I also believe in God…I know there's somebody that guides me."

Esperance Kaligirwa. Like Ndamwizeye, Kaligirwa also explicitly credits God for her perseverance through the genocide and its aftermath. In segment 15, she mentions that her family was "very Catholic" in her childhood; they would go to church regularly, pray the rosary, sing hymns, etc. She also mentions in segment 52 that her family used to pray everyday during the first two weeks of the genocide, but that she "had lost faith…there's no way God can exist [amidst all the carnage and despair of the genocide]." In segment 99, she recounts her eventual exasperation at the question that some of her relatives (who had lived in Burundi prior to and during the genocide) used to repeatedly ask her, "'How did you survive?'" Often, she would answer, "Because of the grace of God, there's no other way I can explain that!" And in segments 104 and 105, in response to the interviewer's question about her source of perseverance, Kaligirwa replies, "You just pray to God to let it go and give you strength…"

Arsene Nsabimana. Out of all the four FRGS' Arsene Nsabimana's narratives contain the least mentions of words related to religiosity/spirituality. He discloses that his family subscribes to the Seventh Day Adventist faith, but he says the actual influence of that faith on his life has only been mild. Another factoid of note in his narrative regarding organized religion, is that the schools he attended in Canada are Seventh Day Adventist schools.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed processes by which narrative sensemaking and resilience is formulated and expressed in four Rwandan FRGS' testimonies in the USC-Shoah video archive. For narrative sensemaking, the analysis consists of the examination of the four FRGS' use of three discursive tools, namely:

- Location of personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide (a form of macro-sensemaking),
- The provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences (another form of macro-sensemaking), and
- The recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations (three methods of micro-sensemaking).

The analysis of resilience expression also mainly follows a two-pronged, i.e. macro vs. micro format. However, the processes of the formulation and expression of both narrative sensemaking and resilience will necessarily vary with each FRGS according to their specific backgrounds, current states of being, and discursive styles. Thus, in addition to the above mode of analysis, I have also used an examination of the commonalities and differences among all four FRGS' vis-à-vis five social elements, namely societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality.

The main contribution of this chapter to the dissertation topic is its analysis of a substantive text of words uttered directly by Rwandan FRGS about their genocide survival. This is a contrast to the contribution of the upcoming chapter, whose goal will be to analyze the texts written or said by media commentators or professionals, about genocide survivors.

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Chapter Three:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of 12 News Articles

From the USA, UK, Canada, and Italy

Table of Contents:

3.1 Introduction

Having completed the narrative analysis of four videos from the USC-Shoah visual archive of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivor (FRGS) testimonies in the previous chapter, I will now turn to a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of 12 news articles published in the USA, UK, Italy, and Canada, also about Rwandan FRGSs. The key difference between the testimony videos and the news articles is that the videos contain stories of survival verbally narrated by the FRGSs—albeit prompted by questions from USC-Shoah foundation interviewers, whereas the news articles contain stories *written about the FRGSs* by journalists or media professionals. Often, the news article stories have extensive quotes of the survivors' narratives of survival and resilience, and they also contain sources other than the FRGSs being profiled. And in almost all the news articles, the journalists or media professionals have carried out background secondary research (e.g. using the Human Rights Watch report) to complement the story being told by the FRGS(s) in question.

Thus, the first goal of this chapter's CDA is to determine some of the main differences between the ways Rwandan FRGSs themselves talk about their experiences of genocide survivorship and resilience, and the ways Western media commentators retell those experiences to mass audiences. The other goal of the analysis is to answer this chapter's relevant secondary question, namely: "Do non-Rwandan FRGS mass media commentators' retellings of genocide survival and resilience highlight their own (Western) coherence systems and ideologies? If so, what are these coherence systems, and how are they highlighted?"

So as to tackle each of the above goals, the remaining contents of this chapter are divided into three main parts. In the next section (3.1 Brief Overview & Context of Articles), I will offer a general orientation of the CDA corpus, as well as a brief summary of each of the 12 articles in

the corpus. Thereafter, in the core section of the chapter (3.2 Close Reading and CDA of Corpus), I will embark on a careful dissection of the corpus in three steps. In the first step, I will carry out a general close reading of the news article corpus using the concept of media/journalistic framing; I will introduce and describe the characteristics of what can be called the "Western Media's Post-Genocide Rwanda Frame." In the next step, I will list the findings of the critical discourse analysis under the names of the three tools of the analytic framework I'm using, namely: General Common Features of Corpus (3.2.1.i), Gee's 6 x 7 Analysis Results (3.2.1.ii), and Other Notable Features of Corpus, e.g. Multimodality & Pictures (3.2.1.iii). In the last step of the core close reading and CDA results section, I will attempt to answer the afore-recapped secondary question. And in the conclusion of the chapter, I will provide a very brief holistic review of the contents of this chapter.

3.2 Brief Overview & Context of Articles

Most of the news articles in the corpus were published during the 20th anniversary commemoration of the Rwandan genocide of 1994, from April to July 20th 2014. The articles were retrieved from the websites of 13 media houses (three television stations and nine newspapers) headquartered in the USA, UK, Italy, Canada, and Qatar. Two of the media houses used the same article sourced from the Associated Press (AP) news agency, albeit tailored to each their style of news coverage; for instance, the Daily Mail (UK) tabloid carried the article alongside a multi-page spread of pictures, some graphic, of Rwandan genocide corpses and survivors. Below, I provide a summary table of the author/media-house/subject names, dates of publication, and titles of all 12 articles of the corpus. Further below, I will delve into more basic details about the contents of each of the articles.

Summary/Table 3.1:
12 News Articles of CDA Corpus

No.:	***Author, Media House & Country of Publication:***	***Date:***	***Name of Subject(s) if Applicable:***	***Title of Article:***
1. (TV)	Bob Simon; CBS (60 Mins); USA	06/28/2007	Immaculee Illibagiza	*Rwandan Genocide Survivor Recalls Horror*
2. (NP)	Amanda Wilk; Lehigh U. Campus Newspaper; USA	10/03/2013	Consolee Nishimwe	*Rwandan genocide survivor speaks on her personal experiences and recovery*
3. (TV)	Reilly Dowd; Aljazeera USA; USA	04/08/2014	Jason Nshimye	*Fromhellto'ahappylife': A Tutsi survivor's escapefrom genocide*
4. (TV)	Caroline Cornish; WCHS6 (Portland); USA	04/09/2014	Emmanuel Mungwarakarama	*Survivor of Rwandan Genocide tells his story*
5. (NP)	Lillia Callum-Penso; Greenville News; USA	04/14/2014	Jonathan Kubakundimana	*Survivor of genocide in Rwanda tells family's story*
6. (NP)	Fabiola Ortiz; IPS News; Italy	04/11/2014	Claudine Umuhoza	*Trauma Still Fresh for Rwanda's Survivors of Genocidal Rape*
7. (NP)	Pieter Hugo & Susan Dominus; NY Times; USA	04/04/2014	Multiple (Total = 8, along with the perpetrators)	*Portraits of Reconciliation*
8. (NP)	Debbie Hovanasian; The Lowell Sun; USA	04/27/14	Claude Kaitare	*Never again: Survivor of Rwandan genocide tells his story to bring about understanding*
9. (NP)	Tiffany Crouse; UW Milwaukee Campus Newspaper; USA	04/09/2014	Gilbert Sezirahiga	*Rwandan Genocide Survivor Tells His Story*
10. a (AP)	Jason Straziuso; AP/Toronto Star; Canada	04/06/2014	Alice Mukarurinda	*A killer and his victim: 20 years after Rwandan genocide, they're friends*
10. b (AP)	Jason Straziuso-AP/Ruth Styles; Daily Mail; UK	04/06/2014	Alice Mukarurinda	*'I watched him kill my baby daughter but I forgave him'*
11. (NP)	David Brooks; NY Times; USA	06/19/2014	N/A—OP-Ed Column	*In the Land of Mass Graves: Are There Lessons for Iraq in Rwanda?*
12. (NP)	Nicholas Kulish; NY Times; USA	05/09/2014	N/A—Op-Ed Column	*In Rwanda, Finding Echoes of Germany*

(TV) = Article From Website of TV Station; (NP) = Article From Website of Newspaper; and (AP) = Article Sourced From the Associated Press (AP) news agency.

It should be noted in earnest that the analysis I will be executing in this chapter on the above corpus is not quantitative. Rather, it is a qualitative critical discourse analysis that intensely focuses on the apparent and hidden themes in the articles, especially using the afore-mentioned three-tool analytical framework (General Common Features of Corpus, Gee's 6 x 7 Analysis Results, and Other Notable Features of Corpus, e.g. Pictures & Multimodality). But before embarking that core analysis, it is important to first orient ourselves vis-à-vis the precise quantity of articles in the corpus, the basic formats of the articles, and their origin via media-house/platform profile.

We can classify the articles in the above table under three main sub-categories, namely: 1) articles focusing on one Rwandan former refugee or genocide survivor (FRGS) respectively—the contents of these articles are feature biographical stories about the FRGS' survival and resilience during and after the 1994 genocide; 2) articles focusing on multiple Rwandan FRGSs—also with contents of biographical stories about their survival and resilience; and 3) articles/columns from opinion-editorial ("op-ed") pages, in which the authors (columnists or journalists writing opinion pieces) reflect on the legacy of the genocide, or the macro-implications of the genocide and the rebuilding of Rwanda, versus other states that have experienced mass-conflicts.

Articles focusing on one FRGS respectively. This is the biggest group of articles, a total of nine. But out of these nine articles, only three articles rely *solely* on quotations from the FRGS subject of focus (articles 2, 3, and 4). The other six articles carry quotes from other personalities such as experts, perpetrators, even the journalists themselves (articles 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10). The other contrast between these articles is in regard to where their subjects live. The articles that focus on FRGSs living in Rwanda are: article 1, about Immaculee Ilibagiza (by Bob Simon, CBS

USA); article 6, about Claudine Umuhoza (by Fabiola Ortiz, IPS Italy); and article(s) 10, about Alice Mukarurinda (by Jason Straziuso, AP). And the articles that focus on Rwandan FRGSs living abroad—mostly the USA—are: article 2 about Consolee Nishimwe (by Amanda Wilkes, Lehigh U. campus newspaper, USA); article 3 about Jason Nshimye (by Reilly Dowd, Aljazeera USA, Qatar); article 4 about Emmanuel Mungwarakarama (by Caroline Cornish, WCHS6 Portland, USA); article 5 about Jonathan Kubakundimana (by Lillia Callum-Penso, Greenville News USA); article 8 about Claude Kaitare (by Debbie Hovanasian, The Lowell Sun, USA); and article 9 about Gilbert Sezirahiga (by Tiffany Crouse, UW Milwaukee campus newspaper, USA).

In the core CDA section of the chapter below, I will extensively highlight various themes and details from this group of articles. For now however, I can point out two more basic details about them. Whereas the men in this group of articles—most of whom were below the age of 12 during the genocide—are mostly quoted while discussing the trauma and perseverance related to losing loved ones as well as the deprivation and anxiety that was caused by the chaos of the genocide, two of the women also discuss the effects and trauma resulting from rape (i.e. Claudine Umuhoza, and Consolee Nishimwe). Also, apart from one article (no. 10, about Alice Mukarurinda) the articles in this group do not directly talk about survivors' reconciliation processes with their victimizers, nor do they quote them (the victimizers/perpetrators), unlike the article below about multiple Rwandan FRGSs still living in Rwanda.

Article focusing on multiple Rwandan FRGSs. Arguably, reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda is mostly necessitated by the fact that the survivors who did not leave Rwanda after the genocide, have to live side-by-side in the towns and villages of Rwanda alongside their perpetrators (or at times, the *alleged* perpetrators who deny culpability), the aiders and abettors

of those perpetrators, or the innocent family members of the perpetrators serving prison sentences. In fact, a number of the survivors, perpetrators, and commentators explicitly credit that reason.

In this chapter's news article corpus as displayed in the above table, there is only one article (article no. 7) which extensively discusses reconciliation. It is a spread that was published in the New York Times weekend magazine, with eight pictures of survivors posing with their perpetrators, accompanied by two brief paragraphs beneath each picture of a quote about reconciliation by the survivor who forgave the perpetrator, and the perpetrator who confessed their transgressions and sought forgiveness from the survivor. The pictures were taken by Pieter Hugo, the text was written by Susan Dominus, and the digital design is credited to Matt Ruby and Ramsey Taylor. According to the introductory background of the spread, the "people who agreed to be photographed are part of a continuing national effort toward reconciliation and worked closely with AMI (Association Modeste et Innocent), a nonprofit organization" (Dominus 2014, No Page No [Online]).

According to various online sources (reseau-rafal.org, insightonconflict.org, and paxchristi.net), the Association Modeste et Innocent (AMI) was founded under the auspices of the Theological Assistance Service (le Service d'Animation Th ologique) of the Catholic diocese of Butare in 2000, by Mr. Laurien Ntazimana and 11 other founding members. It was founded in commemoration of the lives of Reverend Modeste Mungwarareba (deceased on 05/04/99), and Mr. Innocent Samusoni (killed during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, on 04/30/94). In addition to helping with the reconciliation between survivors and convicted or alleged genocidaires, AMI also provides services such as helping poor convicts to pay compensatory fees to families whose property they destroyed.

In the article, Dominus goes on to reveal that AMI "counseled" (Dominus, 2014, p. 1) the survivors and perpetrators over several months. Eventually, the perpetrator would request for forgiveness, "[i]f forgiveness is granted by the survivor, the perpetrator and his family and friends typically bring a basket of offerings, usually food and sorghum or banana beer. The accord is sealed with song and dance." Dominus 2014, No Page No (Online). Dominus also reveals that the pictures were part of a larger collection of large portrait-size pictures that were displayed in the Hague, commissioned by a nonprofit organization called Creative Court. They would also be displayed later in Rwanda. Pieter Hugo—the photographer, is quoted saying that the eight pairs of survivors and perpetrators reflected varying degrees of reconciliation:

> Some pairs showed up and sat easily together, chatting about village gossip. Others arrived willing to be photographed but unable to go much further. "There's clearly different degrees of forgiveness," Hugo said. "In the photographs, the distance or closeness you see is pretty accurate."
>
> In interviews conducted by AMI and Creative Court for the project, the subjects spoke of the pardoning process as an important step toward improving their lives. "These people can't go anywhere else — they have to make peace," Hugo explained. "Forgiveness is not born out of some airy-fairy sense of benevolence. It's more out of a survival instinct."
>
> Yet the practical necessity of reconciliation does not detract from the emotional strength required of these Rwandans to forge it — or to be photographed, for that matter, side by side.
>
> Dominus 2014, No Page No (Online).

In the core CDA section of this chapter below, I will delve into some of the specific nuances and relevant potential critiques of content and underlying assumptions and values espoused by this article. But for now, one of the most provocative questions I can pose to my reader (and to myself) about this article is: what are some of the basic pros and cons of reconciliation and forgiveness, as discussed in the article?

One of the potential pros of the above approach to reconciliation is that, prima facie, survivors and perpetrators can live peacefully side by side, slowly "letting go" of past traumas. However, the counter-argument to that proposition questions the genuineness of the perpetrator's remorsefulness, and the supposed free will with which the survivor forgives the perpetrator. After all, as Hugo himself says in the above quote, part of the reason the perpetrators and the survivors have to make peace, is that they have no choice, no where else to go, and have to live side by side. Aaron Brady, an author with The New Inquiry, an online cultural and literary criticism magazine, provides voice to the above counter-argument:

> The fact that they "have to make peace"—that they cannot go anywhere else, so must do what they must to survive—is not regarded, however, as a continuation of violence, but is framed as its transcendence. Yet this is a dark, dark image of the aftermath of the genocide, and to see it as anything in the broadest vicinity of uplifting (as most of the commentors do) is, frankly, crazy. The NYT writer wants to emphasize the "emotional strength" of these Rwandan women, but the fact that they "can't go anywhere else," that bare survival is framed as making reconciliation a necessity, not a choice, is also a form of violence: they are survivors because, having survived the genocide, they must now survive its aftermath, forgiving the perpetrators, trading physical intimacy for peace. Who

> is being re-integrated into society here, the perpetrators or their victims? Who is being forgiven?
>
> Brady 2014, No Page Number (Online).

Articles/columns from opinion-editorial ("op-ed") pages. The most striking feature of both of these articles/columns, is their authors' comparisons of Rwanda with other countries that have experienced mass ethnic-division-based violence. David Brooks—a veteran journalist, center-right socio-political commentator, and regular columnist of the New York Times—attempts in his column to draw conflict resolution and nation rebuilding lessons from Rwanda's (post-1994 genocide) experience that can be applied to Iraq. And writing in the same newspaper's op-ed page, Nicholas Kulish—a reporter that had been based in Germany and relocated to Nairobi, Kenya—compares the post-genocide nation's essence that he perceives in Rwanda, with that of modern-day Germany. Given these two divergent areas of focus, Brooks and Kulish each employ different literary tools, and the underlying assumptions that each of their articles showcases reflect the above respective foci.

Brooks' article is of a macro focus, on issues of state security, the concepts of ethnic conflict and harmony in general, and economic development. The context of his use of Rwanda as a best practice example of nation rebuilding is a situation in which the nation of Iraq is dealing with its own ethnic strife, in the aftermath of an invasion led by the USA, which toppled President Saddam Hussein and severely weakened Iraqi state social and economic institutions and security apparatuses. The tone of Brooks' article is that of a member of the national intelligentsia with influence, who is discussing a country with limited sovereignty and or weak institutional capacity, and thus a country that needs help and guidance from a wiser, and more powerful one:

> The Iraqi state is much weaker than the Rwandan one, but, even so, this quick survey underlines the wisdom of the approach the Obama administration is gesturing toward in Iraq: Use limited military force to weaken those who are trying to bring in violence from outside; focus most on the political; round up a regional coalition that will pressure Iraqi elites in this post-election moment to form an inclusive new government.
>
> Iraq is looking into an abyss, but the good news is that if you get the political elites behaving decently, you can avoid the worst. Grimly, there's cause for hope.
>
> Brooks 2014, p. A23

And yet, ironically, Brooks refers to the Rwandan model of rebuilding—which he profusely espouses for Iraq, as "paternalistic."

But the referral to the current Rwandan administration as 'authoritarian,' 'paternalistic,' 'iron-fisted,' etc. by Western journalists and commentators, is common (e.g. in addition to Brooks 2014 and Kulish 2014; Gettleman 2013). In fact, Nicholas Kulish also talks about the fact that "[i]n Rwanda, the memory of the genocide is used to justify President Paul Kagame's tight grip on power even in the face of growing criticism of his actions at home and abroad" (Kulish 2014, p. SR3). However, these accusations of authoritarianism are almost always accompanied by concessions that the administration is one of the most effective via macro economic management and social service delivery via health, education, infrastructure, etc. Says Kulish:

> Yet for all the differences, I found the echoes impossible to ignore. As with Germany's postwar economic miracle I discovered a country that was advancing economically by leaps and bounds. It was as if laying fiber-optic cable and building some of the finest

> roadways on the Continent was easier than grappling with the enormity, the impossibility, of what had taken place 20 years ago.
>
> Kulish 2014, p. SR3

But for the most part, Kulish does not extensively discuss the national macro-economic and social issues that Brooks takes up. Instead, Kulish's article is an abstract discussion, a general reflection about the meaning and implications of genocide, the large scale failure of human altruism, and other complex issues that genocides and their aftermath highlight. He uses the comparisons between Rwanda and post-Holocaust Germany to examine the collective guilt and mourning that take place in the aftermath of mass murder; the performance of rituals of memorialization; and the efficacy of different justice-delivery mechanisms such as Western legal processes and Rwandan traditional Gacaca courts.

Overall thus, each of the articles in the above-discussed three sub-categories of this chapter's corpus, tackle issues that can ran the conceptual gamut of macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of analysis. In the following core section of this chapter, I will attempt to tackle all three levels using three main tools namely, 1) discussion of the "Western Media's Post-Genocide Rwanda Frame," 2) listing of differences between Rwandan FRGSs' and Western mass media's discussion of genocide survival, sensemaking, and resilience using three tools of a critical discourse analytic framework (General Common Features of Corpus, Results From Gee's 6 x 7 Formula, and Other Notable Features of Corpus e.g. Pictures & Multimodality), and 3) brief recap of all the above findings using Linde's (1993) concept of coherence systems.

3.3 Close Reading and CDA of Corpus

3.2.1 Close Reading of CDA Corpus: Journalistic Framing and the "Western Media's Post-Genocide Rwanda Frame"

Recap: The concept of mass media framing, and journalists & other mass media commentators' representation of mass-conflict survivor stories. As aforementioned in chapter one (Introduction), one of the topics that has been studied in depth by mass media scholars such as Entman (1993) and McCombs (2004) via the theory of framing, and Davies and Harre (1990) via positioning theory, is the question of how various issues, events, and people are portrayed in the media. Some scholars such as Witteborn (2004, 2005, 2007), and to a limited extent McKinnon (2008) and Seu (2003) have specifically applied that question to refugees (i.e. "How do journalists and other mass media participants portray refugees?").

According to Entman (1993), framing is the "[selection of] some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52). McCombs (2004) emphasizes that indeed, the mass media have a wide purview in the choices they can make while choosing which issues to cover, and how. Similarly, Davis and Harré (1990) use their concept of "positioning" to interrogate how the mass media portrays groups of individuals (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 50) Arguably, all the above framing and positioning theories' assertions can be clearly validated using a cursory mental revisiting of some of the most memorable images and stories about mass-conflict survivors and Rwandan FRGSs in particular. One can think of a generic picture or video frame of a group of mass-conflict survivors, refugees, or internally displaced persons huddled

together in a camp somewhere; the iconic "Afghan Girl" picture by Steve McCurry (shot in 1984) on the cover of National Geographic; or the emaciated children in the camps of Somalia in the early 1990s.

The "Western Media's Post-Genocide Rwanda Frame." In light of the above explication of the concept of framing, the preceding title can be used in the specific context of this dissertation's focus on Rwandan FRGS experiences and discussion. It refers to the set of characteristics that mark Western mass media's habitual coverage of post-genocide Rwanda. There are at least three main characteristics that define this frame, namely:

- The tendency to simplify the cause of the genocide as enmity between Tutsis and Hutus, with inadequate credit given to other responsible factors,
- Frequency and emphasis on stories of virtues of reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, and the resilience and survival of Rwandan survivors and the society-at-large.
- Deliberate and de-facto (probably unintended) interpretations of commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides and mass conflicts.

The tendency to simplify the cause of the genocide as enmity between Tutsis and Hutus with inadequate tribute to other responsible factors. In all fairness, one of the main causes of the 1994 genocide and the earlier pogroms and conflicts in Rwanda, was indeed the historical tension between Tutsis and Hutus. However, since 1994, Western—as well as African and other—commentators have mischaracterized and or exaggerated these divisions, and the true extent or form of their cause of the genocide.

Among other authors, Desforges (1999) and Strauss (2006) have alluded to the "ancient tribal hatred" (Desforges, 1999, p. 21; Strauss, 2006, p. 18) explanations that were used by some

American government officials while discussing the events of the genocide. But often, even when such officials and mass-media commentators accurately credit the tension between Hutus and Tutsis as (one of) the main cause(s) of the genocide, other causes are not given enough attention. Granted, one can argue that academics (such as the aforementioned Desforges and Strauss) are indeed better equipped to more accurately discuss the background and form of complex events such as genocides, as opposed to journalists who are expected to constantly and succinctly report current affairs to mass audiences in a timely fashion.

Even then, often, stories reported within the dominant media frames *du jour* can in fact be interpreted as being simplistic, and stories in the mass media about the 1994 Rwandan genocide are emblematic in this regard. In the book *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide* (2007, edited by Allan Thompson), various journalists acknowledge their own and or their colleagues' complicity in the above-mentioned practice of simplistic reporting (e.g. Doyle, and Chaon, in Thompson, Ed., 2007). And yet, they assert, the reality or reasonable interpretation of the events of 1994 in Rwanda, is very nuanced.

For instance, Doyle points out the fact that there were essentially two mass-conflicts in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994, i.e. the invasion of Rwanda by Ugandan-based Tutsi rebels who engaged in fighting with government soldiers, and the pogroms (pre-1994) and genocide (in 1994) led by Hutu government-supported extremists, against Tutsi civilians. In addition, Chaon points out the fact that whereas one can correctly allege that "the media" failed in Rwanda, it might be unfair to say that individual journalists purposefully botched their reporting duties. In the end, factors such as the challenging wartime conditions and chaos at the time in Rwanda; the professional standards which require counter-arguments in reporting; and the apathy of Western and African audiences themselves towards the conflict (e.g., Americans at the time were

enthralled with the O.J. Simpson trial); all contributed to the modus operandi and the tone of the stories that were produced by the journalists in Rwanda.

But even when one ignores such mistakes or unintended oversights by journalists or mass-media commentators, the core issue at hand remains unresolved, i.e. that the Hutu/Tutsi division is often wrongly cited as the *only* cause of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In those instances (of misattribution of genocide's cause), various other reasons are ignored. These include: the historical exacerbation and formalization of that division by Belgian colonial masters (e.g. with issuance of ID cards identifying Tutsis vs. Hutus); the depressed economy of the early 1990s, thanks to the precipitous drop of commodity prices in international markets—including that of coffee, Rwanda's chief export at the time and relatedly, the motivation of genocidaires to loot their victims' assets; and perhaps most importantly, the nefarious exploitation of the Hutu/Tutsi division by politicians including then-President Habyarimana, in a bid to expand and consolidate their power (Prunier, 1995; Desforges, 1999; Strauss, 2006; and Thompson [Ed.], 2007).

Frequency and emphasis on stories of virtues of reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, and the resilience and revival of Rwandan survivors and the society-at-large. Even in the majority of articles in which reconciliation is not discussed directly—apart from the one from the NY Times by Peter Hugo and Susan Dominus—this second characteristic of the "Western Media's Post-Genocide Rwanda Frame" is present in all the articles in the corpus above, and is generally a common feature of Western commentators' writings on post-genocide Rwanda. Generally, authors highlight either the stoicism and perseverance of the survivors, and or their reconciliation with their [known/accused] perpetrators. But in the emphasis on the virtues of reconciliation, we run the risk of weakening the pursuit of justice, and the search for the

genuine and appropriate forms of mental/emotional closure that the genocide survivors need or want in actuality. For instance, a skeptic might ask the following provocative open questions regarding reconciliation in Rwanda versus other post-genocide societies: How have other post-genocide societies (of survivors) handled reconciliation? And regardless of what part of the world in which these societies are located (e.g. in Europe, Middle-East, and Asia), has the Western media covered reconciliation stories with as much frequency and emphasis as it has with Rwanda? If not, why?

So as to further explore the "justice/genuine closure vs. reconciliation" critique or debate, it is helpful to summarize the arguments highlighted by the above quotation from Brady's (2014) New Inquiry article. The quotation encapsulates at least three arguments against the emphasis on the virtues of reconciliation in Rwanda, namely: 1) It might be carried out (between survivors and confessed genocidaires themselves) and encouraged by the government, not necessarily out of altruism, but because the survivors have nowhere else to go. They have to live side-by-side with their former tormentors. 2) That fact, i.e. that survivors in Rwanda have to live in close vicinity with their former assailants, is actually another form of mental anguish that can easily be forgotten and not dealt with appropriately, if we simply choose to believe that all well between the former foes. 3) Relatedly, Brady highlights the paradoxical speech act (Butler, 1997) that is performed in discourses about reconciliation; in the process of reconciliation the way we know it in Rwanda, it might actually be the survivors that *need* the goodwill and "forgiveness" of their former assailants!

As I conclude my explication of this second characteristic, it is important to note that my highlight of the critiques or potential weaknesses in the practice of reconciliation, are not motivated by a desire to see the use of other particular ways of pursuing justice and closure in the

aftermath of a genocide. Rather, it is meant to highlight the often-unquestioned assumptions or premises that journalists/commentators and media consumers often harbor while writing and reading stories about reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. Yes, reconciliation is a good thing; but in Rwanda, is it being practiced fairly and or for the right reasons, and in the right way?

Deliberate and de-facto (indirect) interpretations of commonality between the 1994 Rwandan and other genocides and mass conflicts. In the introduction chapter (one), in my discussion of the results from the sample CDA analysis I carried out using Fergal Keane's article about Valentina Iribagiza, I mentioned that there are a number of paradoxical similarities and differences that Keane highlights—mostly unintentionally—in that biographical feature story, between the 1994 Rwandan and other genocides, particularly the Holocaust.

For instance, in his recounting of his confrontation with one of the alleged killers, an old man (whom Keane refers to as "one of the butchers of Nyarubuye…a grandfather,"), Keane quotes the old man as having said in his defense, "Our orders were to kill everyone." This stance is reminiscent of the common defense heard at the Nuremberg trials, "I was/we were just following orders" (King, 2002). Also, the massacre at Nyarubuye church and other related genocidal killings in Rwanda in 1994 that Keane talks about in that article, are part and parcel of the wider organization and orchestration of the genocide, having began with dehumanization (with government officials and Interahamwe militias referring to Tutsis as *inyenzi*—cockroaches). And yet, Keane's own and other journalists' simplified account of the causes and events of the genocide, reduce the deserved emphasis on its large-scale deliberate organization.

But arguably, the most discrete and paradoxical similarity-difference that Keane unintentionally highlights in his article, is the ontology of survivors' voices. In contrast to Holocaust survivors in general, there have been few autobiographical books or essays written by

Rwandan genocide survivors. Instead, the biggest source of Westerners' knowledge of stories of Rwandan genocide survivorship, have been written by journalists and other mass media commentators. For instance, Keane's story about Valentina Iribagiza is one of many, as a news database search of her name will attest. But in most or all of the stories about her, her story of survivorship is intertwined with the journalists'/commentators' retellings and evaluations of the genocide, using both a macro perspective, as well as the micro perspective represented by her story.

All-in-all, the above three features of commonality between the 1994 Rwandan and other genocides, can be found in almost all the articles of the corpus being analyzed in this chapter. For instance, in addition to Brooks and Kulish's deliberate discussions of the Rwandan genocide vis-à-vis other genocides and mass conflicts, the authors of three articles from the corpus—i.e. Bob Simon / "60 Minutes" (CBS), Lillia Callum-Penso (Greenville News), and Fabiola Ortiz (IPS News)—all make direct or indirect reference other genocides and mass ethnic/sectarian or civil conflicts such the Holocaust, the Cambodian genocide, and protracted conflict in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In their fitting of the story of Immaculee Ilibagiza's story of survival into the wider story of the Rwandan genocide, Bob Simon and the CBS "60 Minutes" production team writes/says (italics and underlining added by this author for emphasis):

> "There were no organized roundups *as there had been in Nazi Germany*; Tutsis were slaughtered in their tracks, wherever they were found. *The killing fields* were everywhere. And when it was over, three out of every four Tutsis in Rwanda had been killed."

Similarly, Callum-Penso (Greenville News) writes that, "Kubakundimana and his mother were put on an *extermination list*, and it didn't take long for the Hutu militia to come looking for them." But unlike the previous two references to mass killings, the indirect similarity that Ortiz's

(IPS News) article highlights is that of the use of rape as a weapon during mass conflict, a phenomenon that has been reported from the eastern DRC conflict (e.g. Pratt and Werchick, 2004; and Maedl, 2011). She introduces the subject using the story of Claudine Umuhoza, who contracted HIV and gave birth to a son, after being gang-raped and stabbed in the stomach during the genocide. She then quotes experts from NGOs that support mothers such as Umuhoza, by providing scholarships to their children.

Overall, the above characteristics of the Western media's Post-Genocide Rwanda Frame are influential to the ways in which Western and other mass audiences view and understand or interpret stories of survivorship and resilience among Rwandan FRGS. But in the next section, we will delve into the more hidden characteristics of the Western mass media's retellings of the genocide.

3.2.2 Results of CDA Framework Under Three Analytic Tools

Based on the substantive body of theory in place to-date on CDA (e.g. Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Machin and Mayr, 2012; and Jorgensen and Philips, 2012), and recent applications of it to media corpuses (e.g. Novak, 2014), a heuristic framework based on CDA might be efficacious in this analysis.

Recap: Theory of Critical Discourse Analysis & its role in the framework being used. Gee (2011), Machin and Mayr (2012), and Jorgensen and Philips (2012) are some of the scholars that provide useful conceptions in the application of the theory and practice of critical discourse analysis. Gee's approach provides a comprehensive framework for critically examining the roles of discourse texts (both spoken, written, and in other forms) via his six tools of inquiry vs. seven building tasks (the 6 x 7 formula). For Gee, an "ideal" discourse analysis (Pg. 121) is composed of "six tools of inquiry" on "seven building tasks…a total of 42

questions." (pg. 121) The tools of inquiry are: 1) situated meanings, 2) social languages, 3) figured worlds, 4) intertextuality, 5) Discourses, and 6) Conversations, and the building tasks are 1) Significance, 2) Practices (Activities), 3) Identities, 4) Relationships, 5) Politics, 6) Connections, and 7) Sign Systems and Knowledge.

Meanwhile, Machin and Mayr provide us with theoretical foundations to uncover lexical fields and hidden meanings, an understanding of the semiotic process of ideational re-presentation, and the processes with which others' actions can be depicted as 'good' or 'bad'. They provide examples from various (predominantly UK-based) news publications whose editors have clearly made use of the above techniques, e.g. with text and pictures depicting American and British soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan as valiant warriors fighting debased savage terrorists, or former prime ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown looking troubled or defensive, etc. A lot of the techniques with which editors and authors make and convey meaning lean on the concept of "salience." Machin and Mayr define this as the quality that uses "certain features in compositions…to stand out, to draw our attention [and or] to foreground certain meanings" (Pg. 54). Specifically, salience is achieved by using elements such as potent cultural symbols (e.g. a stethoscope around the neck to depict a physician), size—i.e. some things or people in images are made to look bigger than others, color, tone, focus (i.e. clarity or lack thereof) and foregrounding, and overlapping.

Finally, Jorgensen and Philips give us particular ways with which to examine Marxism and hegemony in the unequal power relations that come to light in mass media texts. The most important contribution from this triad of theoretical and methodological guides is the highlighting of the flexibility with which identities and selves create and deploy discourses tactically and strategically.

Based on the above CDA synthesis, I designed and tested a critical discourse analysis framework that can help to clarify the consequential general/structural and particular features in stories distributed by mass media, features that might influence our understandings and opinions of the roles of particular people in events, and who deserves blame or praise based on said roles in the events. The framework consists of three tools, namely: 1) Elucidation of general distinctive features of a story, 2) The use of Gee's 6 x 7 formula, and 3) Explication of other multimodal rhetorical techniques used by authors. Having tested the CDA framework (in the introduction chapter) on Fergal Keane's story about Valentina Iribagiza, I will apply it in the section below to the above corpus of 12 media stories.

3.2.1.i General Common Features of Corpus. A close reading of the 12 articles in the above corpus reveals that there are at least five most common features, namely 1) the use of a widely-known macro timeline & structure of the causes and events of the genocide; 2) the presence of at least three or four types of "voices" or wording within each of the articles, i.e. that of the journalists or commentators themselves, that of the survivors, and sometimes other witnesses or characters (e.g. perpetrators), and that of experts; 3) direct or indirect comparisons between the Rwandan (1994) genocide and other genocides and mass conflicts; 4) the use of a formal objective stance in the writing style of the articles and 5) an emphasis on reconciliation compared to other emphases such as lessons we can learn, or the pursuit of justice.

First common feature of corpus: the use of a widely known macro timeline & structure of the causes and events of the genocide. Each of the authors of the 12 articles of the corpus talks about the genocide using the widely known timeline and structure that generalizes the causes and events of the genocide. This can be summarized under three main points:

- The biggest cause of the genocide was enmity between the majority Hutus and minority Tutsis; Hutus blamed Tutsis for the country's and their own (Hutu's) misfortunes.
- The assassination of then-President Habyarimana on April 6th, 1994 (via a surface-to-air missile triggered airplane crash) is credited as the precipitating event of the genocide, which lasted 100 days and claimed the lives of between 800, 000 to 1 million Tutsis and moderate Hutus.
- To-date, the country has admirably rebuilt itself following the genocide, and there has been a substantive effort at reconciliation between Hutus and Tutsis.

As I have mentioned above and in the previous chapter, this version of the causes and events of the 1994 Rwandan genocide is a simplified version that shares a couple of the main points, but otherwise differs significantly from Alison Desforge's seminal 1999 Human Rights Watch report. Still, news reports such as those in the corpus habitually use this simplified macro story; below are lists of some brief quotations from four of the articles that highlight the above-listed key points.

Point 1 of Common Macro Story (i.e. that the biggest cause of the genocide was enmity between the majority Hutus and minority Tutsis). Relevant quotes from CBS TV (60 Mins) USA article:

A. "The genocide had begun. It was extremely low tech - no gas chambers here - just machetes, spears and knives, wielded by Hutus, the majority tribe as they tried to wipe out the minority Tutsis."
B. "Tutsis were slaughtered in their tracks…"
C. "And when it was over, three out of every four Tutsis in Rwanda had been killed."

D. “The minister was a Hutu, a member of the majority tribe that was killing the Tutsis. But he had been a friend of the family's. And he was a minister.”

E. “What prompted the genocide? There are things you can point to. The Hutus had long-standing resentments against the Tutsis, who formed the nation's elite. They had the better houses, better jobs.”

F. “Radio broadcasts called day and night for the Hutus to go out and kill Tutsis and the Hutus were told by their own leaders that if they didn't join the killers, they would join the dead.”

G. “After a hundred days, a Tutsi army formed in exile had captured most of the country and stopped the genocide. Today, Tutsis are still in control and are sharing power with Hutus.”

H. “The country may be peaceful, but it's still on edge. Some Hutus want to resume the genocide, and some Tutsis still want revenge. Immaculee knows Rwandans can never forget but believes they must forgive. Revenge, she told Simon, only prolongs the pain.”

Point 2 of Common Macro Story (i.e. that the trigger of the genocide—which lasted 100 days and claimed the lives of between 800, 000 to 1 million Tutsis and moderate Hutus—was the assassination via a surface to air missile triggered airplane crash of then-President Habyarimana). Relevant quotes from The Daily Mail UK article:

A. “The trigger for the genocide came on the 6th May [sic] 1994 when a plane carrying Juvénal Habyarimana, the president of Rwanda, and Cyprien Ntaryamira, the president of Burundi, was shot down as it came into land at Kigali airport.”

B. “Within hours of their deaths, the first Tutsis were dead and the stage was set for a genocide that continued for 100 days.”

C. “By the time the Rwandan Patriotic Front, led by current Rwandan president Paul Kagame, took Kigali and effectively ended the genocide, an estimated 70 per cent of Rwanda's Tutsis - 20 per cent of the total population - were dead.”

Point 3 of Common Macro Story (i.e. that to-date, the country has admirably rebuilt itself following the genocide, and there has been a substantive effort at reconciliation between Hutus and Tutsis). Relevant quotes from Aljazeera (TV) USA:

A. “And as he sees it, Rwanda has a bright future. A few years ago, he returned home and to the church that became a grave site for so many of his loved ones.”

B. “ ‘Everything was different,’ he said. ‘We don’t have people asking, 'Are you Hutu or Tutsi?' People are living together as one. The economy of Rwanda is growing. People are working harder now. People are going to school. The country is building a foundation for a peaceful future and a peaceful population.’ ”

Another relevant quote from Greenville News, USA:

C. “Today, Kubakundimana says, Rwanda is a place vastly different from its former self. The economy is rebounding and the country is by all accounts stabilized. Between 2001 and 2012, real GDP growth averaged 8.1 percent per year, and the poverty rate dropped from 59 percent in 2001 to 45 percent in 2011, according to the World Bank.”

Second common feature of corpus: the presence of at least three or four types of “voices” or wording within each of the articles, i.e. that of the journalists or commentators themselves, that of the survivors, and sometimes other witnesses or characters (e.g.

perpetrators), and that of experts. The articles in the corpus can be divided into five groups of combinations of the afore-listed voices/wording, namely: 1) Articles with the voices/wording of journalists and survivors, 2) Articles with the voices/wording of journalists, survivors, and other witnesses, 3) Articles with the voices/wording of journalists, survivors, and experts, 4) Articles with the voices/wording of journalists, survivors, and experts, and 5) And articles with the voices/wording of journalists or commentators only. The table below indicates the category—out of the afore-listed five—that each of the articles in the corpus can be listed under.

Articles From Corpus	With voices/wording of journalists and survivors	With the voices/wording of journalists, survivors, and other witnesses	With the voices/wording of journalists, survivors, and experts	With the voices/wording of journalists or commentators only
1) From NY Times, USA by Pieter Hugo & Susan Dominus	X			
2) From WCHS6 (TV) Portland USA; by Caroline Cornish	X			
3) From Aljazeera (TV) USA/Qatar website; by Reilly Dowd	X			
4) From CBS TV (60 Mins) USA website, by Bob Simon		X		
5) From Lowell Sun, USA; by Debbie Hovanasian			X	
6) From Greenville News (Newspaper) USA website; by Lillia Callum-Penso			X	
7) From IPS News Italy website; by Fabiola Ortiz			X	
8) From Lehigh U. Campus Newspaper USA website, by Amanda Wilk			X	
9) a) From AP/Toronto Star, Canada; by Jason Straziuso			X	
9) b) From AP (By Jason Straziuso) / Daily Mail, UK; by Ruth Styles			X	
10) From UW Milwaukee Campus Newspaper, USA; by Tiffany Crouse; 04/09/2014			X	
11) From NY Times, USA; by David Brooks; 06/19/2014				X
12) From NY Times, USA; by Nicholas Kulish; 05/09/2014				X

It is important to note that this feature of the articles in the corpus is what makes it possible or easier for all the other common features listed above i.e. the use of a commonly-known macro structure and timeline of the genocide, direct or indirect comparison between the Rwandan genocide and other genocides and mass conflicts, use of professional or literary language, and the emphasis on reconciliation compared to other emphases or implications, e.g. the lessons we should learn, or the pursuit of justice. One can argue that when we listen to, or watch, or read a recorded/transcribed voice of a survivor (even with the guidance and prodding of an interviewer, as in the USC-Shoah archive videos), the survivor-produced text we are consuming is unadulterated. That text might or might not corroborate with written or recorded and widely distributed histories. And unless the survivor has lived through another genocide or mass conflict, he/she cannot effectively compare the Rwandan one with any other. But I concede that they might be able to do so, if they have read about other conflicts or watched them in mass media, e.g. in a documentary or movie.

Also, a written text meant for mass production is usually prepared carefully; written using proper grammar and style conventions, with devices such as metaphors e.g. "*The world stood by as Rwanda tore itself apart*." (Dowd, 2014) and statistics for clarity, e.g. "Between 2001 and 2012, real GDP growth averaged 8.1 percent per year, and the poverty rate dropped from 59 percent in 2001 to 45 percent in 2011, according to the World Bank." (Lillia Callum-Penso, 2014) It is edited and proof-read, and pictures might be added to it (I'll discuss pictures and multimodality further below). Finally, a text of the recorded or transcribed voice of a survivor might not have mentions of reconciliation; but here again, I concede that usually interviewers ask about it (as seen in the USC-Shoah archive interviews).

All-in-all, the five combinations of the four-listed types of voices in these articles complement each other to create texts that do not simply inform a reader about a historical or reportable (Labov, 2006, p. 38) event. Rather, I submit that the combination of all those different voices in the above articles (along with the other techniques explicated in this chapter) *can or might* substantively affect—e.g. change or reify—our thoughts and emotions, our beliefs, and our ideologies. For instance, let us suppose my thinking before reading the CBS article (no. 1 in corpus above) was that, *it is so sad; for some reason, in Africa and the Middle East, there are a lot of conflicts!* After reading the CBS article, my thinking might be affected thus: *Hm, now I know why. It seems many of the ethnic groups in these countries have had rivalries for time immemorial, and that is why they fight all the time!*

Third common feature of corpus: direct or indirect comparisons between the Rwandan (1994) genocide and other genocides and mass conflicts. There are a total of five articles from the corpus in which the authors themselves, or people quoted by the author, make direct comparisons between the Rwandan genocide and other genocides or mass-conflicts. These are:

I. From CBS TV (60 Mins) USA website, by Bob Simon; 06/28/2007; about Immaculee Illibagiza; titled: *Rwandan Genocide Survivor Recalls Horror*

II. From Greenville News (Newspaper) USA website; by Lillia Callum-Penso; 04/14/2014; about Jonathan Kubakundimana; titled: *Survivor of genocide in Rwanda tells family's story*

III. From Lowell Sun, USA; by Debbie Hovanasian; 04/27/14; about Claude Kaitare; titled: *Never again: Survivor of Rwandan genocide tells his story to bring about understanding*

IV. From NY Times, USA; by David Brooks; 06/19/2014; about N/A—OP-Ed Column; titled: *In the Land of Mass Graves: Are There Lessons for Iraq in Rwanda?*

V. From NY Times, USA; by Nicholas Kulish; 05/09/2014; about N/A—OP-Ed Column; titled: *In Rwanda, Finding Echoes of Germany.*

Among these articles, the genocide that is used for comparison the most is the Holocaust; four out of five articles make reference to it by name, or to well-known aspects or characteristics of it. The other mass-conflict used for comparison is the Iraq war of 2003 to 2011. One can also argue that there is an indirect reference to the Cambodian genocide. Below are some exemplary quotations from all the articles.

From the CBS TV (60 Mins) USA website article (by Bob Simon; 06/28/2007; about Immaculee Illibagiza):

> "There were no organized roundups as there had been in Nazi Germany; Tutsis were slaughtered in their tracks, wherever they were found. The killing fields were everywhere. And when it was over, three out of every four Tutsis in Rwanda had been killed."

In addition to the obvious Holocaust reference to "Nazi Germany," the term "[t]he killing fields" can evoke memories of the Cambodian genocide, if one is familiar with the movie (titled *The Killing Fields*) that was based on that event (Joffe, 1984).

From the Greenville News article (by Lillia Callum-Penso; 04/14/2014; about Jonathan Kubakundimana):

> “That's why Kubakundimana's story is so important for us to hear, says Courtney Tollison, assistant professor of history at Furman and program director for Year of Altruism.
>
> ‘I read an article recently about the Holocaust, about how it's so difficult for people to wrap their head around it,’ Tollison says. ‘But we can all relate to another human being's experiences. It makes it adjustable. This is a first step in wrapping our minds around it.’ ”

From the Lowell Sun article (by Debbie Hovanasian; 04/27/14; about Claude Kaitare):

> After graduating from Portland High School, Kaitare enrolled in Clark University for pre-med. His experience at the orphanage, where he witnessed malnutrition, injury, and where "we even lost some of them," drove him to become a pediatrician.
>
> That changed in his sophomore year when he took a class on Holocausts and noticed errors in some of the materials about the Rwandan Genocide. He switched his major to history with a minor in holocaust and genocide studies, graduating in 2005.

The last article from the above collection which compares the Rwandan genocide to the Holocaust is the NY Times op-ed piece by Nicholas Kulish. This article’s comparison is the starkest; below is an extended quote of three paragraphs from the column:

> I have been warned that comparing the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide is a fool’s errand. The differences are too many to enumerate. The little landlocked African country with the Technicolor hills bears no outward resemblance to the gray European plains. The Jews who hadn’t managed to flee Nazi Germany were, for the most part, eradicated from Germany by the time World War II ended. Tutsis continue to live side

> by side with Hutus, including in some instances the murderers of their families.
>
> Yet for all the differences, I found the echoes impossible to ignore. As with Germany's postwar economic miracle I discovered a country that was advancing economically by leaps and bounds. It was as if laying fiber-optic cable and building some of the finest roadways on the Continent was easier than grappling with the enormity, the impossibility, of what had taken place 20 years ago.
>
> I also found the quiet, the edgy calm I had read so much about in postwar Germany. Reserved does not do justice to the collective demeanor in Rwanda. Uptight might be more appropriate, like a nation of recovering alcoholics trying their best to keep it under control.
>
> Thirteen years after the end of World War II, Germany founded the Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, which still operates out of a former women's prison in the southwestern town of Ludwigsburg. Thirteen years after the genocide, Rwanda opened the Genocide Fugitive Tracking Unit, searching the world over for génocidaires.

The only article from the above collection of five that doesn't compare the Rwandan genocide to the Holocaust, is David Brook's op-ed piece, also from the NY Times. Brooks compares the macro-economic and social service delivery progress of post-genocide Rwanda to the "much weaker" state of Iraq (Brooks, 2014, p. A23). According to Brooks, there are a number of important prerequisites that the Rwandan government has fulfilled in its rebuilding efforts. For instance:

> First, the government established a monopoly of force. In Rwanda, this happened because Paul Kagame won a decisive military victory over his Hutu rivals. He set up a

strongman regime that was somewhat enlightened at first but which has grown increasingly repressive over time. He abuses human rights and rules by fear. Those of us who champion democracy might hope that freedom, pluralism and democracy can replace chaos. But the best hope may be along Korean lines, an authoritarian government that softens over time.

Second, the regime, while autocratic, earned some legitimacy. Kagame brought some Hutus into the government, though experts seem to disagree on how much power Hutus actually possess. He also publicly embraced the Singaporean style of autocracy, which has produced tangible economic progress.

This governing style can be extremely paternalistic. It is no longer officially permitted to identify people by their tribal markers (everybody knows anyway). Plastic bags are illegal. The civil service is closely monitored for corruption. In sum, Rwanda is a lousy place to be a journalist because of limits on expression, but the quality of life for the average citizen is improving rapidly.

Third, power has been decentralized. If Iraq survives, it will probably be as a loose federation, with the national government controlling the foreign policy and the army, but the ethnic regions dominating the parts of government that touch people day to day. Rwanda hasn't gone that far, but it has made some moves in a federalist direction. Local leaders often follow a tradition of imihigo—in which they publicly vow to meet certain concrete performance goals within, say, three years: building a certain number of schools or staffing a certain number of health centers. If they don't meet the goals, they are humiliated and presumably replaced. The process emphasizes local accountability.

He goes on to list other prerequisites, before concluding that "if you get the political elites behaving decently [in Iraq], you can avoid the worst. Grimly, there's cause for hope."

Fourth common feature of corpus: the use of professional or literary language. The genre of writing that is mostly used in the above corpus' articles is the news feature or 'human interest' story; two of the articles are opinion pieces. Instead of the inverted pyramid used in ordinary news stories—with its emphasis on quickly disclosing the five Ws and H (what, who, where, how, and why), feature stories are written and read more deliberately (e.g. Stein and Paterno, 2006).

The 'news worthy' stories they are reporting are those of the Rwandan genocide survivors, and they were published during the 20th commemoration (2014) of the Rwandan genocide. In addition to the provision of the above-listed five Ws and H, the articles contain a substantial amount of background secondary research. This research is either collected by journalists beforehand and is simply relayed to the reader via the journalists' own voices, or it is delivered via the quotations of experts that the journalists speak to while preparing the articles. By pointing out the criticisms that human rights organizations frequently level at the Kagame administration, the stories also loosely follow the principle of the provision of both arguments and counter-arguments.

Finally, in what is arguably the most dramatic difference between the stories in these articles compared to those told by the survivors themselves, the articles in the corpus often use figurative language, as well as nuanced descriptions. Below are some relevant examples from three of the articles, with some words/clauses italicized and underlined by this author for emphasis.

"In April, Jonathan Kubakundimana often falls into a reflective and insular state. The 20-year-old student's thoughts *drift back across the seas* to his native Rwanda, and his heart hurts for the trauma that took place there 20 years ago…

"Kubakundimana *shifts ever so slightly* as he tells the story of how his family — mother Elsie, father Nicolas Hitimana and he, then a 6-month-old baby, fled Rwanda in 1994."

---From Greenville News USA website; by Lillia Callum-Penso;

04/14/2014

"The situation *caught fire* on April 6, 1994, when the plane carrying Rwanda's president was shot down. Hutus started killing Tutsis, who ran for their lives and *flooded* Alice's village…

"In the months after the genocide, guilt *gnawed away* at Emmanuel. He saw his victims during nightmares. In 1996, he turned himself in and confessed."

"The Rwandan government is still accused by human rights groups of holding *an iron grip* on power…"

---From AP/Toronto Star, Canada; by Jason Straziuso;

04/06/2014

"I also found the quiet, the edgy calm I had read so much about in postwar Germany. Reserved does not do justice to the collective demeanor in Rwanda. Uptight might be more appropriate, *like a nation of recovering alcoholics trying their best to keep it under control.*"

--- From NY Times, USA; by Nicholas Kulish; 05/09/2014

3.2.1.ii Gee's 6 x 7 Analysis Results. As aforementioned, Gee's (2011) method of discourse analysis entails the use of "six tools of inquiry"—i.e. situated meanings, social

languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, Conversations—on "seven building tasks"—i.e. significance, practices/activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems and knowledge. Thus, in regard to the corpus above we can ask, "*How are situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, and Conversations being used*: to build relevance or *significance* for things [and events—the Rwandan genocide in particular] and people in context? To enact a *practice (activity) or practices (activities)* in context? To enact and depict *identities*? To build and sustain (or change or destroy) *social relationships*? To create, distribute, or withhold *social goods* or to construe particular distributions of *social goods* as "good" or "acceptable" or not? To make things and people *connected or relevant* to each other or irrelevant to or disconnected from each other? To privilege or disprivilege different *sign systems* (language, social languages, other sorts of symbol systems) and ways of knowing?" (Pg. 121—122)

This formula helps us yield a robust array of multimodal rhetorical techniques with which the authors of the above stories accomplish their goals, and or how they unintentionally highlight specific traits or characteristics of genocide survivors.

Significance. On page 102, Gee (2011) elaborates on the *significance* building task by posing the following question (underlining added by this author for emphasis):

> "Given what the speaker has said or the writer has written, and how it has been said or written, what things and which people in this context are relevant and significant and in what ways are they significant? How is the speaker or writer trying to give significance to things?"

My answer to this/these question(s), in regard to the 12 news article corpus above, entails three items, namely: a) highlighting the historical tension between the two Rwandan ethnic groups of

Hutus and Tutsis, b) the gravity of the 1994 genocide, and c) the "inexplicable" nature of the genocide, as opposed to a clear explication of its causes, as in the Desforges (1999) report. All authors of the articles in the above corpus directly or indirectly talk about the historical tensions between Hutus and Tutsis, the gravity—i.e. via numbers of deceased victims and survivors, or the macabre methods of killing and torture, etc., and the "inexplicable" nature of the genocide. This last trait in these articles—the genocide's inexplicability—is paradoxical, for it might seem to contradict the earlier-stated trait of simplifying the cause of the genocide as the tension between Hutus and Tutsis. But even the authors who try to list some of the causes of the genocide, only do so perfunctorily, in comparison the Desforges report. The excerpt (from CBS TV/60 Mins USA website, by Bob Simon; 06/28/2007) below exemplifies the phenomenon:

> What prompted the genocide? There are things you can point to. The Hutus had long-standing resentments against the Tutsis, who formed the nation's elite. They had the better houses, better jobs.
>
> Radio broadcasts called day and night for the Hutus to go out and kill Tutsis and the Hutus were told by their own leaders that if they didn't join the killers, they would join the dead.
>
> There are things you can point to, but do they explain what happened? What could possible [sic] explain what happened?

The author then goes on to quote one of the convicted killers, who stated that he and his group mates were following orders, and they had been promised the right to keep the property of their victims. But, I submit that having repeatedly posed the questions in the above excerpted paragraphs ("What prompted the genocide? ... There are things you can point to, but do they

explain what happened? What could possible explain what happened?"), the author is in effect implying that ultimately, one cannot confidently or fully state the real cause(s) of the genocide.

Practices. Again on page 102, Gee (2011) elaborates on another building task—*practices*—by asking (underlining added by this author for emphasis):

> "Given what the speaker has said or the writer has written, and how it has been said or written, <u>what practice (activity) or practices (activities) are relevant in this context, and how are they being enacted</u>?"

There are at least two such practices or activities in the above corpus namely, a) crime—murder, committed en masse, and b) hate-motivated actions such as murder, torture, rape, and a number of abusive actions such as verbal insult, and psychological torture, e.g. via humiliation.

Identities. Similar to the previous two building tasks, Gee poses the question of how his six suggested tools of inquiry can help in the highlighting of the *identities* revealed by authors'/speakers' texts. In regard to the above corpus, two of the most prominent identities are the a) Hutu vs. Tutsi one, and b) the more ambiguous/nuanced "them vs. us or others," in reference to Rwandans vs. Westerners and other individuals. The highlighting of the latter identity can be demarcated in at least two ways, namely i) geography and geopolitics: nationality of authors, and location of media-house headquarters, and ii) commonalities or differences of history, culture, and other social traits between Rwandans and the authors, and or other individuals being discussed by the author, or who are otherwise relevant to the news article. Two quotes can exemplify both of these modes of highlighting, both from the NY Times op-ed column articles. The first one is Nicholas Kulish's article:

> I have been warned that comparing the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide is a fool's errand. The differences are too many to enumerate. The little landlocked African country

> with the Technicolor hills bears no outward resemblance to the gray European plains. The Jews who hadn't managed to flee Nazi Germany were, for the most part, eradicated from Germany by the time World War II ended. Tutsis continue to live side by side with Hutus, including in some instances the murderers of their families.

The second quote is from David Brook's article:

> So the question of the day is: Does Rwanda's rebound offer any lessons about how other nations might recover from this sort of murderous sectarian violence, even nations racked by the different sort of Sunni-Shiite violence we're seeing in the Middle East?

Politics. Gee's operational definition of *politics* might seem narrower from the traditional meaning attached to it in political science and the news media. As opposed to a competition for power over the branches or apparatuses of a state—e.g. a legislative or executive position, or a high position in—or authority over—the military, Gee asks of the *politics* building task (underlining and italics added by this author for emphasis):

> "Given what the speaker has said or the writer has written, and how it has been said or written, <u>what *social goods* are relevant and at stake in this context and how are they distributed or how is their distribution being viewed?</u>

And by *social goods*, Gee (2011) is referring to "…anything some people in a society want and value," (pg. 5) and or "what is taken to be 'normal,' 'right,' 'good,' 'correct,' 'proper,' 'appropriate,' 'valuable,' 'the way things are,' 'the way things ought to be,' 'high status or low status,' 'like me or not like me,' and so forth," (pg. 19). In other words, Gee asks us to interrogate how a text portrays its principals vis-à-vis morals, ethics, and even aesthetics. And in that regard, it is abundantly clear in all the 12 articles of the above corpus that the members of the Hutu militia who killed, tortured, or otherwise participated in the genocide, are bad or evil,

and their victims are mostly good, or they were wronged and are not culpable in what befell them. Put differently, the perpetrators of the genocide failed to abide by a number of highly valued social mores that are common among cultures worldwide and have long been adopted in organized religions and in legal systems worldwide. Arguably, the most serious of the social mores that were desecrated by the militia, is the imperative against murder. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is articulated in the seventh commandment of Exodus 20:13 and Deuteronomy 5:17; "Thou shalt not kill."

Connections. The most important connection made by the authors of the articles in this corpus, is the comparison and contrast of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 with other past genocides and mass conflicts. There are a total of five articles in the corpus whose authors, or the survivors and other principals quoted by the author, directly or indirectly reference other genocides. And in these references, the Holocaust is the most frequent one:

a) From CBS TV(60 Mins) USA website, by Bob Simon; 06/28/2007; about Immaculee Illibagiza; titled: *Rwandan Genocide Survivor Recalls Horror*: Relevant Quotation:

> "People were screaming all over the country. The genocide had begun. It was extremely low tech - no gas chambers here - just machetes, spears and knives, wielded by Hutus, the majority tribe as they tried to wipe out the minority Tutsis."

b) From Greenville News (Newspaper) USA website; by Lillia Callum-Penso; 04/14/2014; about Jonathan Kubakundimana; titled: *Survivor of genocide in Rwanda tells family's story*: Relevant Quotation:

> That's why Kubakundimana's story is so important for us to hear, says Courtney Tollison, assistant professor of history at Furman and program director for Year of Altruism.

"I read an article recently about the Holocaust, about how it's so difficult for people to wrap their head around it," Tollison says. "But we can all relate to another human being's experiences. It makes it adjustable. This is a first step in wrapping our minds around it."

c) From NY Times, USA; by David Brooks; 06/19/2014; about N/A—OP-Ed Column; titled: *In the Land of Mass Graves: Are There Lessons for Iraq in Rwanda?*: (One of) the Relevant Quotations:

So the question of the day is: Does Rwanda's rebound offer any lessons about how other nations might recover from this sort of murderous sectarian violence, even nations racked by the different sort of Sunni-Shiite violence we're seeing in the Middle East?

d) From NY Times, USA; by Nicholas Kulish; 05/09/2014; about N/A—OP-Ed Column; titled: *In Rwanda, Finding Echoes of Germany.*: (One of) the Relevant quotations:

I have been warned that comparing the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide is a fool's errand. The differences are too many to enumerate. The little landlocked African country with the Technicolor hills bears no outward resemblance to the gray European plains. The Jews who hadn't managed to flee Nazi Germany were, for the most part, eradicated from Germany by the time World War II ended. Tutsis continue to live side by side with Hutus, including in some instances the murderers of their families.

Yet for all the differences, I found the echoes impossible to ignore. As with Germany's postwar economic miracle I discovered a country that was advancing economically by leaps and bounds. It was as if laying fiber-optic cable and building some of the finest roadways on the Continent was easier than grappling with the enormity, the impossibility, of what had taken place 20 years ago.

e) From Lowell Sun, USA; by Debbie Hovanasian; 04/27/14; about Claude Kaitare; titled:

Never again: Survivor of Rwandan genocide tells his story to bring about understanding

> After graduating from Portland High School, Kaitare enrolled in Clark University for pre-med. His experience at the orphanage, where he witnessed malnutrition, injury, and where "we even lost some of them," drove him to become a pediatrician.
>
> That changed in his sophomore year when he took a class on Holocausts and noticed errors in some of the materials about the Rwandan Genocide. He switched his major to history with a minor in holocaust and genocide studies, graduating in 2005.
>
> Kaitare has since traveled to many holocaust sites, including Germany and back to Rwanda in 2005 and 2009. There, he visited his father's grave.

Sign systems and knowledge. Gee refers to the "ways of knowing"—the different semiotic frameworks with which we transfer knowledge in our discourses (Gee 2011, pg. 19-20). In attestation to this hypothesis, one can see that all the authors of the articles in the above corpus discuss, or quote survivors and other sources who are discussing topics of religion or spirituality (e.g. " 'The Bible says you should forgive and you will also be forgiven,' " from AP/Toronto Star, Canada; by Jason Straziuso; 04/06/2014), science and psychology (e.g. "Nishimwe said that she suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder for years following the genocide. Eventually, she moved to the US and was able to heal through therapy," from Lehigh U. Campus Newspaper USA website, by Amanda Wilk; 10/03/201), and political science (e.g. "The Rwandan government is still accused by human rights groups of holding an iron grip on power, stifling dissent and killing political opponents," also from AP/Toronto Star, Canada; by Jason Straziuso; 04/06/2014). Below are some other examples of the use of various subjects or knowledge systems in the corpus:

- Geography; also from AP/Toronto Star, Canada; by Jason Straziuso; 04/06/2014:

"Rwanda is the most densely populated country in mainland Africa, slightly smaller than the U.S. state of Maryland but with a population of more than 12 million. The countryside is lush green, filled with uncountable numbers of banana trees."

- Mathematics; from CBS TV (60 Mins) USA website, by Bob Simon; 06/28/2007:

"The genocide in Rwanda 13 years ago was the most efficient ever carried out…800,000 people were slaughtered in just 100 days."

- And Economics; from the NY Times, USA; by David Brooks; 06/19/2014:

"…The conflict was between a historically dominant ethnic minority and a historically oppressed majority, as in Iraq. Yet, today, Rwanda is a relatively successful country. Economic growth has been hovering at about 8 percent a year for the past few years. Since 1994, per capita income has almost tripled."

3.2.1. iii Other Notable Features of Corpus (e.g. multimodality & pictures). The preceding CDA results from the verbal content of the corpus is a moderate portion of the potential results that one can get from a more comprehensive application of the theoretical-methodological frameworks of Gee (2011), Jorgensen and Phillips (2012), and Machin and Mayr (2012). However, it is important to remember that the corpus above communicates its message(s) not only via the verbal medium but also using pictures, and what Machin and Mayr refer to as multimodality, i.e. the use of a variety of semiotic resources—esp. verbal and visual texts—in different combinations and via different communicative platforms (both tangible and virtual) to convey meaning.

Multimodality. The multimodality that I am referring to in this context is mostly marked by the use of at least three media platforms to disseminate the stories of the Rwandan FRGSs i.e.

hard copy or print newspapers, television, and the internet. Of the 12 web-based news articles, there are three that originate from television media houses (i.e. were originally reported in televised news bulletins); seven from hardcopy newspaper media houses (i.e. were simultaneously published in the hardcopy newspapers and on these newspapers' websites); and two articles sourced from the Associated Press (AP) news agency (also simultaneously published in the hardcopy newspapers and on these newspapers' websites).

It is important to bear in mind the fact that the media platforms by which the stories are released and subsequently reproduced, also influence the ways their consumers will understand and apply those stories (e.g. McLuhan 1951, 1964). A story that I listen to and watch on television will affect me differently than that which I read in a hard copy newspaper, however well-written by the journalist (and edited, and processed otherwise by other media house staff). The television story will most likely have video footage shot on location in Rwanda, and animation via the voice-variations and non-verbal communicative cues by the reporter, survivor, and other interviewees.

Pictures. In the above corpus, there are four articles with the starkest pictures of their subjects—i.e. the genocide survivors whose stories are being retold (in AP/Toronto Star Canada by Jason Straziuso, IPS News Italy by Fabiola Ortiz, AP/Daily Mail UK by Ruth Styles, and NY Times USA by Pieter Hugo & Susan Dominus). Two of these articles each have only one survivor in one picture (in AP/Toronto Star Canada by Jason Straziuso, and IPS News Italy by Fabiola Ortiz), but in one of these articles (in AP/Toronto Star Canada by Jason Straziuso), the survivor is standing next to the man who killed her child and amputated her right hand. The other two articles (AP/Daily Mail UK, by Ruth Styles and NY Times, USA by Pieter Hugo & Susan Dominus) have a spread of multiple large pictures. In one article (AP/Daily Mail UK, by Ruth

Styles), the pictures mostly depict survivors, whereas the other (NY Times, USA by Pieter Hugo & Susan Dominus) article's pictures each depict a set of one survivor and his or her perpetrator.

Using Machin and Mayr's (2012) framework for analyzing authors' use of pictures to represent objects and people and to influence visual meaning-making processes, I will use six characteristics below to survey the semiotics of the first three of the above articles' pictures. The six characteristics are: settings, salience (i.e. symbols, size, color, tone, focus, foregrounding, and overlapping), gazes, poses, distance, and angles. These six characteristics are not applicable to each and every picture-article listed above; thus, I will not use them all on each article. Two questions I can pose to myself to guide the upcoming brief visual semiotic analysis is: which of the above characteristics can we use to analyze the denotation and connotation of the four articles' pictures? How exactly do the applicable characteristics influence the meaning-making of the viewer of the pictures in the articles?

In the IPS News Italy article about Claudine Umuhoza, a rape victim that was infected with HIV and gave birth to a son as a result, there are five characteristics that we can use to analyze the picture. These are: pose, angle, distance, salience via size, color and tone, and gaze. Ms. Umuhoza is seated inside a house, with a dark-brown door behind her. The picture is taken using a camera that is positioned below and right in front of her. The picture is in the style of a bust, with her unsmiling face—with a clear, dark, and pale skin—prominent. Some of the effects the picture (along with the accompanying story) can have on a viewer, are those of sadness and pity. The picture gives the impression that Umuhoza is a powerless subject.

The AP/Toronto Star article about Alice Mukarurinda, whose daughter was killed and her arm was amputated by Emmanuel Ndayisaba—with whom she later reconciled—has a picture of them standing together. Ms. Mukarurinda and Mr. Ndayisaba are standing outside, with a blurry

hill and green and yellow vegetation in their background. They are less than an arm's length close to one another, half facing the camera and half facing each other. This camera is also positioned in front of and below the principals. Ms. Mukarurinda prominently positions her stump on her torso, with a purple purse hanging from her elbow joint. Ms. Mukarurinda is looking into the camera and has a slight smile, but both she and Mr. Ndayisaba are slightly squinting, in reaction to the sunshine. Mr. Ndayisaba is not looking into the camera; his eyes are focused on the horizon above and to the left of the camera, and his lips are pursed. The picture tries to match the theme of reconciliation being discussed in the article, of two people standing next to each other without emotion. It forces the viewer to set aside their own feelings of incredulity, to support the goodwill of Ms. Mukarurinda towards Mr. Ndayisaba.

The last two picture-articles above (NY Times and AP/Daily Mail UK) can also be analyzed using the previously used six characteristics, i.e. setting, pose, angle, distance—of the principals from the camera and to each other in the picture, salience via size, color and tone, and gaze. However, the AP/ Daily Mail UK article has the most complex use of these characteristics in support of its commemorative long news feature/human-interest genre story. The pictures therein can be divided into three sets, displayed in tandem with the sub-stories being covered in the long article. The first set of five pictures is of the aforementioned Ms. Mukarurinda and Mr. Ndayisaba, and it accompanies that AP-sourced story (written by Jason Straziuso).

The next set of pictures consists of 11 shots of survivors standing or seated by themselves inside or near genocide memorial sites, or in various unnamed outside settings with lush vegetation in the fore and background. Below is a list of five of the pictures with brief descriptions of each, along with their captions.

- The first picture is that of Ophelia Nyiramagumeri, a diminutive older lady with a scarf on top of her head akin to a Muslim woman's hijab, seated on a bench under a shed at "Kicukiro College of Technology football ground, the site of a massacre," her distant gaze or inattentive glance is to the left horizon away from the camera, listening to a lady who is bending to talk to her,
- The third picture is of Theodette Abayisenga, standing with the support of a crutch between two bench columns of a classroom, also a memorial site, with the caption underneath her picture: "Memories: With her classmates, Theodette Abayisenga, 35, defied the Interahamwe in this Nyange classroom. She lost her leg. Others lost their lives,"
- The fifth picture depicts "Damascene, 54," (only one name listed) standing against a background of the rolling verdant hills typical of the Rwandan terrain, *the land of a thousand hills*. He looks sternly into the camera, which is at the same level with him, unlike the previous three shots, whose photographers were either directly above the principal (i.e. for Nyiramagumeri), or slightly below them (i.e. for Venuste, Abayisenga, and Donatille). The caption: "Fighting back: Damascene, 54, on top of the hill in Bisesero, was one of the few Hutus to speak out against the genocide. 48,000 Tutsi were killed on the hill behind him."
- The seventh picture is of "Sindayiheba, 37" (only one name listed), seated against a blue wall next to a window. The picture is bright; Sindayiheba gazes into the camera, unsmiling, with his hands clasped together on his lap. The caption: "Brave: Sindayiheba, 37, was with his classmates in this Nyange classroom when the genocidaires arrived. He was shot and suffered grenade wounds in the attack,"

- The last picture in this set is of Olivier Mugwiza, seated at ease on one of the gray concrete steps of Amahoro Stadium, his elbows resting on his knees, his hands clasped together. The camera is in front of and beneath him, and he gazes unsmilingly straight into the lens. The caption underneath the picture: "Refuge: Former Olivier Mugwiza, 35, took refuge in the UN-protected Amahoro Stadium in Kigali. Many starved to death while others were killed be killed by shell fire."

Altogether, the effect of these pictures on a viewer is sadness and uneasy resignation, borne of the denotation and connotation of the facial and other corporal non-verbal expressions of the survivors, e.g. the clasped hands, relaxed postures, and gazes.

Along with the pictures above, the other pictures in this set are in accompaniment of a brief background story about the genocide and the civil war (started by invading Tutsi rebels from Uganda) that led up to it. Two pictures depict a group of men and women at a genocide commemoration; one picture depicts soldiers marching up a barren hill, presumably at or near a battle front; and the other is of a soldier loading a grenade on a rocket propeller. The most graphic of these pictures is of the bloodied bodies of two women and one man laying on the ground on the verandah of a brick-walled house. As a viewer, I appreciate the pictures of soldiers, in their bold depiction of what a war really looks like. However, as a viewer who also lost relatives in the genocide, I feel it is unnecessary and insensitive or even callous to show human beings in that state; if those were my relatives, I wouldn't want them depicted to the world that way. I should also note that I do understand—but I don't think I sympathize or empathize—with some viewers who didn't lose relatives in the genocide and who might be fascinated by real death and gore, and would thus enjoy looking at those pictures.

The final set of pictures in the Daily Mail article are of a moving archive of pictures taken, preserved, and displayed by the officials of Save the Children, a nonprofit organization.

> "The photographs, taken by Save the Children in the months following the war in 1994, were carried from village to village to try to find the families of an estimated 8,000 children following the brutal 100-day conflict, which destroyed the country's infrastructure and left it with the highest proportion of orphans in the world."
>
> Ruth Styles, Daily Mail UK.

The most remarkable aspect of these pictures is their meta-analytic nature. They are pictures of pictures, juxtaposing black and while and colored pictures on cardboard display walls, some of single individuals—men and women, and others of families or couples side by side, all posing for the camera. In one of these pictures (of the archived pictures), four individuals are looking at the display, a man and woman looking at pictures on the left wall, and another man and woman looking at pictures on the right wall, the way one looks at pieces in a museum or art gallery.

3.2.3 Answers to Secondary Question

The relevant secondary question in this chapter is: "Do non-Rwandan FRGS mass media commentators' retellings of genocide survival and resilience highlight their own (Western) coherence systems and ideologies? If so, what are these coherence systems, and how are they highlighted?" Before giving my answer to the above question(s), I will briefly explicate Linde's (1993) theory of coherence systems. I will then give my answer to the secondary question, based on the foregoing textual, multimodal, and visual critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Linde's (1993) theoretical/methodological framework of coherence systems. In *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence*, Linde reports the findings and shares the framework of a

study in which she examined the way people talk about themselves over the course of their lifetimes. She defines a "life story" as a discontinuous oral narrative in which the person primarily recounts and evaluates his/her own life, and which contains a reportable event, i.e. an event that can be judged by a listener as one that warrants learning about. She points out that there are other mediums of re-presenting the history of oneself, including written biographies and autobiographies, private journals, and psychological profiles. In her study, Linde interviewed 13 "middle-class American speakers" (pg. 52), asking them why and how they had chosen their professions. Her main goal in analyzing this interview data was to trace the coherence systems—the "system[s] of beliefs and relations between beliefs (pg. 163)"—that her interviewees relied on as they recounted their stories.

Before moving on to discuss the main coherence systems she uncovered in her data, Linde briefly highlights some of the ways speaker establish adequate causality in their accounts, and how they repair the disruptions to continuity that might confuse their listeners. She draws on her data to provide examples of narrators that account for causality by citing character (e.g. I became an accountant because as I was always good at math) or "richness of account" (e.g. a confluence of factors that made something possible). Events that happen without adequate causality can be explained as accidents, and discontinuity can be explained with a variety of strategies including "Irish luck," "temporary discontinuity" (*it's <u>not</u> really surprising I left the priesthood to become an executioner; I had always enjoyed killing squirrels as a kid*), and "self-distancing" (*I didn't know any better back then…*) (pg. 151—162).

In all, Linde uncovered five coherence systems in her data that are common to upper middle-class American individuals (as of 1993), namely: "versions of Freudian psychology, behaviorism and astrology, as well as some indications of feminism and Catholic confessional

accounting." (pg. 165) Coherence systems are ways of explaining causes or phenomena that lie between what we call "common sense," and expert knowledge. For instance, common sense dictates that if I was good at math as a child, it is no accident that I became an accountant. However, an interviewee who evidently had been exposed to Freudian pop-psychology cited very early toilet-training (starting at six months) by his mother as part of the reason he grew up to become an accountant (pg. 164).

The role of non-Rwandan journalists' and mass media commentators' coherence systems in their coverage of the commemoration of the Rwandan genocide. The secondary question(s) above can be divided into two main parts, namely the "what," and the "how." The "what" of the question is in its first part, "Do non-Rwandan FRGS mass media commentators' retellings of genocide survival and resilience highlight their own (Western) coherence systems and ideologies?" while the "how" of the question is its second part, "If so, what are these coherence systems, and how are they highlighted?"

As aforementioned, the answer to the secondary question is based on the foregoing textual and visual CDA of the corpus of 12 newspaper articles about Rwandan genocide survivors. The answer to the question is as follows: Western journalists' and commentators' understanding of the Rwandan genocide, its survivors, and the other characters, characteristics, and issues involved in it, is accomplished with the use of a three-pronged coherence system. This same system can be used, and is often used, on other genocides and mass-conflicts around the world being covered by Western mass media. In the case of Rwanda, three questions—based on the three prongs of the coherence system—can be posed and explicated thus:

- What are these people's ethnic or other divisions?

  For Rwanda, it was "Hutus v. Tutsis."

- Who are the good, and who are the evil?

  OR: Who are the Victims/Wronged and the Victimizers?

- What are the similarities and differences between them vs. us and or others, or the similarities and differences between their situation vs. others' or ours'?

  E.g. in this case, Rwanda v. Iraq, or Rwandan Tutsis vs. the Jews (and other victims) of the Holocaust.

By using a variety of textual/visual rhetoric and semiotic techniques, Western journalists and mass commentators portray, explicitly state, or imply certain aspects of Rwandan FRGSs which trigger the above three main questions. Often the journalists provide answers to the questions, and many times, they don't. But inevitably, I submit that the average media consumer will consciously or unconsciously provide their own answers. This provision of answers can trigger a cycle of sorts; those answers might proliferate with the help of the media or via other modes, and the media will thus infuse them into future texts—news articles, videos, pictures, etc.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have studied a corpus of 12 news articles using close reading, the concept of journalistic framing, and a critical discourse analytic method informed by three (sets of) authors, namely Gee (2011), Machin and Mayr (2012), and Jorgensen and Phillips (2012). The analysis was carried out with the main of goal of determining the differences in the ways Rwandan FRGSs tell their own stories, and the ways in which journalists and mass media commentators retell them. The other goal was to determine whether Western journalists and mass media commentators' coverage was indicative of their own coherence systems and ideologies, and if so, how.

Having completed the analyses of chapter two and chapter three, we now have a good idea of the rhetorical styles and some of underlying mindsets of two groups of people—Rwandan FRGSs, and Western journalists and mass media commentators. By mere virtue of these analyses, I believe we also have a basic grasp or intuition as to some of the implications of the proliferation of both Rwandan FRGSs' own and Western journalists and mass media commentators' (re)tellings of genocide survival stories. In the final two chapters of this dissertation, I will tackle this subject in detail: what are the wider implications of these two preceding mass communication styles of Rwandan genocide survival story-telling?

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Chapter Four:

Discussion of Analysis Findings and Limitations of Study

Table of Contents

4.5 Chapter References

4.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is a holistic discussion of the results from the foregoing narrative and discourse analysis chapters. This will entail a comparison-contrast analysis of the narrative and discourse analysis results, and the interpretation of all results from the point of view of three fields, namely general and intercultural communication, sociolinguistics, and mass media.

The core interpretation section will be preceded by a quick recap of the main themes from chapter one's literature review, an attempt on the part of this author to provide a panorama of the the narrative & CDA results' place in the existing theoretical body of work. In my interpretation analyses, I will make use of notable studies by Goffman (1981), Martin & Nakayama (2010), Wierzbicka (1991, 1997), Tannen (1993), Scollon & Scollon (1995), Sontag (2004), Thompson (2007), Donohue (2012), and Alozie (2010).

In section 4.3, I will explore some of the limitations that have hampered this study, and I will highlight two alternative theoretical and methodological frameworks I could have used, namely the Fisher-Nikolaev Cultural Analysis framework, and Critical Intercultural Theory (as informed by scholars such as Halualani 2002, and Chen & Collier 2012). In section 4.4, I will conclude the chapter with a brief recap and an orientation/preview of the conclusion chapter.

4.2 Review & Comparison-Contrast of Narrative and Critical Discourse Analysis Results

4.1.1 General Recap/Review of Results

Narrative Analysis Results. The stories told within the testimonies of the four survivors from the USC-Shoah archive contain numerous instances of sensemaking using a set of three

discursive tools. The first two tools are forms of macro-sensemaking; these are: the location of personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide, as well as the provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences. The last method of narrative sensemaking—the recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations—is of a micro nature (Schiffrin, 2002). The expression of resilience also mainly follows a two-pronged—i.e. macro vs. micro—format. However, both processes of the formulation and expression of narrative sensemaking and resilience will vary, based on the specific background of an individual FRGS, i.e. the effects of societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality.

Critical Discourse Analysis Results. Stories written by Western journalists about the 1994 Rwandan genocide are characterized by a three-pronged frame (enmity between Tutsis and Hutus, virtues of reconciliation and the resilience of Rwandan society, and commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides). These stories also use a widely known macro timeline and structure (story arc), make use of multiple survivor and expert voices, and are written in a literary-professional style. One can identify numerous instances of journalists' rhetorical strategies using Gee's (2011) categories, i.e. significance and identities (e.g. the historical ethnic tensions), practices (e.g. the crime of mass-murder), politics (e.g. desecration of social mores), connections (e.g. Rwanda vs. The Holocaust and other genocides), and sign systems and knowledge (e.g. references to religion or spirituality, science and psychology, and political science). Stories about Rwandan FRGSs also make use of multimodality, e.g. the use of at least three media platforms to disseminate the stories of the Rwandan FRGSs i.e. hard copy or print newspapers, television, and the internet, and pictures. Finally, Western journalists' and

commentators' understanding of the Rwandan genocide, its survivors, and the other characters, characteristics, and issues involved in it, is accomplished with the use of a three-pronged coherence system consisting of the following questions 1) what are these people's ethnic or other divisions? 2) Who are the good, and who are the evil, among them—OR: Who are the Victims/Wronged and the Victimizers? 3) What are the similarities and differences between them vs. us and or others, or the similarities and differences between their situation vs. others' or ours'?

4.1.2 Specific Juxtaposition / Comparison-Contrast of Results (Also See Table 4.1 Below)

Expression of Sensemaking and Resilience. These two aspects are necessarily part and parcel of most or all Rwandan FRGS stories, both as told by the FRGSs themselves, and Western journalists. However, as the table below demonstrates, it is clear that these two story-telling styles (i.e. FRGSs' vs. journalists') treat the expression of sensemaking and resilience differently.

Rwandan FRGSs express their sensemaking and resilience by mostly relying on their own personal experiences regardless of whether or not these are macro (via alignment with popular historical narratives and using themes) or micro (via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations). In contrast to this style, Western journalists interweave stories of Rwandan FRGS sensemaking and resilience with aspects of the frames they have developed over time (enmity between Tutsis and Hutus, virtues of reconciliation and the resilience of Rwandan society, and commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides). They also depend on experts' analyses, and their news reports are composed using a professional-literary style of talking or writing.

Two other characteristics of journalists'/commentators' FRGS sensemaking & resilience expression are the use of rhetorical strategies, and multimodality and pictures. The rhetorical strategies can be uncovered using Gee's (2011) "6 x 7" framework. In the previous chapter, I explicated five of these, i.e. significance and identities (e.g. the historical ethnic tensions), practices (e.g. the crime of mass-murder), politics (e.g. desecration of social mores), connections (e.g. Rwanda vs. the Holocaust and other genocides), and sign systems and knowledge (e.g. references to religion or spirituality, science and psychology, and political science).

Arguably, the use of multimodality and pictures can also be thought of as a rhetorical strategy, albeit a paradoxically conventional and unconventional one. It is conventional, as one can argue that rhetoricians have often used a combination of vocal, gestural, and other techniques for rhetorical persuasion. Thus, one can assert that the use of a variety of semiotic resources—esp. verbal and visual texts—in different combinations and via different communicative platforms (both tangible and virtual, e.g. a news article on a website with audio and video recordings, as well as pictures), is in line with rhetorical traditions.

In any case, as we uncovered in the previous chapter, Western journalists who retell stories of Rwandan FRGSs, make use of a variety of semiotic resources and media platforms, and this profoundly augments their message; it is hard for a normal human being to resist feeling sad, or shocked, or angry, etc., while looking at pictures of dead men, women, and children, or the sullen faces of survivors who have lost loved ones and endured trauma.

The Story Arc, or the Generally Known/Accepted Historical Narrative of the Rwandan Genocide of 1994 Against the Tutsis. As Porpora (In-Press as of July 2015) asserts, scholars can and should adjudicate within reason vis-à-vis the most valid research methodologies and the differences between alethic and epistemic (T/)truth(s). With this in mind, one can

reasonably assert that the consensus among scholars and commentators of Rwandan history and socio-political studies (as emblematized by the Desforges 1999 report) in regard to the 1994 genocide is encapsulated in the two paragraphs below.

In the century leading up to 1990, historical tensions between the dominant two traditional occupational groups of the society of Rwanda—the Hutus (predominantly cultivators) and Tutsis (predominantly cattle keepers)—were exacerbated by colonial rule (by Germany and Belgium) and pre/post-independence national political jockeying. Whereas these two groups had indeed encouraged intra-group marriages among families, Hutu-Tutsi identities were fluid and were mostly a token of wealth and prestige in a pre-cash economy in which an individual with a big plot of land and a big herd of cattle was considered wealthy. Thus, a Hutu man could become wealthy and marry a Tutsi woman. But upon arrival in Rwanda, the colonial administrators transformed these two groups into official "ethnicities" using state instruments such as identification cards, based on late 18^{th} century pseudo-scientific theories of race. Tutsis were determined as being of Hamitic origin, tall, with lighter skin complexions and smaller and longer facial features, whereas the Hutus are of Nilotic origin, are short, and have darker complexions and short facial features. And Tutsis are more intelligent and should thus be the local leaders of the society, second only to the colonial administrators.

Eventually, a group of politicians of Hutu descent led an uprising that resulted in the expulsion of the king (*Mwami*) who was traditionally of Tutsi descent, and a number of pogroms and mass exoduses of Tutsis (to the D.R. Congo, Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi) between the late 1950s through early 1990s. In 1990, a group of refugees calling themselves the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)—mostly of Tutsi origin—invaded the country from Uganda, with the goal of toppling the Hutu-dominated discriminatory regime, so as to resettle in their native homeland.

Between 1990 and 1994, this invasion slowly continued, and various areas in the northern part of the country were under control of the RPF. Pogroms, assassinations, and internal displacement of Tutsis continued as well, as did peace talks in Arusha between the RPF and the government of Rwanda, under the leadership of President Juvenal Habyarimana. After the mysterious explosion of his jet (after being targeted by a rocket-propelled grenade) and his death on April 6th 1994, the then-government of Rwanda and the members of the Interahamwe militia (of Hutu descent), killed an estimated 800,000 – 1,000,000 Tutsis. These killings ended in early July, after the RPF had occupied the entire country.

Ostensibly, both Rwandan FRGSs and Western journalists (re)tell stories of genocide survival and resilience against the backdrop of the above historical narrative. And indeed, both these groups' (FRGSs' and journalists') retellings reference various aspects of the above distilled narrative. However, after a critical reading of the journalists' retellings and the non-Rwandan and Western general public's understanding of the genocide, one can see that unfortunately, these two groups (non-Rwandan journalists and the general public) harbor and propagate numerous misconceptions about the Rwandan genocide.

For instance, please note that in my distilled narrative above, I deliberately refer to Hutus and Tutsis as "*the dominant two traditional occupational groups of the society of Rwanda, i.e. the Hutus (predominantly cultivators) and Tutsis (predominantly cattle keepers)*." "Dominant," because unfortunately, most individuals either do know about, or acknowledge the historical and current presence of a third group of individuals known as the Twa, a pygmy-like hunter-gatherer people (but Desforges discusses the Twa in her report). Also, the false impression that Hutus and Tutsis are "tribes" or even "ethnic groups" seems to be deeply etched into the psyches of Westerners, in line with common stereotypical attitudes about Africa. As Keim (1999) notes,

whereas the word "tribe" was first used to innocuously describe ethnic groups by anthropologists, it later took on the connotation of a human category that foments primal conflicts among peoples of the African continent and of African descent in the US (some Asian and Latin American populations are described similarly). Another distinctive aspect of Western journalists' retelling of the Rwandan FRGS experience using the above narrative include their numerous deliberate or unintentional highlighting of the similarities (and differences, although to a less common extent) between the Rwandan (1994) genocide and other genocides, and the Holocaust in particular. Yet another aspect of journalists' coverage is their extensive focus on the enmity between Hutus and Tutsis, often without providing the context of its origins or catalysts, and their extensive focus on post-genocide reconciliation.

Secondary Questions and Answers. The two secondary questions posed in chapter two (narrative analysis) and chapter three (critical discourse analysis) can help us acquire a deeper understanding of the data results from each of these chapters. The secondary question for chapter two is: Are Rwandan FRGS narratives affected by social elements such as societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality, and if so, how? And the secondary question for chapter 3 is: Do non-Rwandan FRGS mass media commentators' retellings of genocide survival and resilience highlight their own (Western) coherence systems and ideologies? If so, what are these coherence systems, and how are they highlighted? Essentially, I am using the above secondary questions to ask the following question: Why do Rwandan FRGSs and Western journalists (re)tell stories of genocide survival and resilience the way they do?

As I mentioned in chapter two, I composed the secondary question for that chapter with those five social elements (effects of societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status,

the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality) based on my own personal/family experience vis-à-vis the genocide, secondary research via books and articles about it, and from my initial preliminary rounds of watching and analyzing the four USC-Shoah videos that I use. Meanwhile, I composed the secondary question for chapter three based on an informed intuition (Sinclair 2005), thanks to my training in media theory, semiotics, and critical discourse analysis, among other disciplines.

The answers to chapter two and chapter three's secondary questions are similar, as they confirm that there are underlying reasons to explain the "why" of Rwandan FRGSs and Western journalists' story-telling *modi operandi*. But they are different, as they tell us that: 1) Rwandan FRGSs story-telling styles are dependent on granular and distinctive personal background traits (effects of societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality), whereas 2) Western journalists' story-telling styles are dependent on a macro/general coherence system (i.e.: i. What are these people's ethnic or other divisions? ii. Who are the good, and who are the evil, among them—OR: Who are the Victims/Wronged and the Victimizers? iii. What are the similarities and differences between them vs. us and or others, or the similarities and differences between their situation vs. others' or ours'?).

Table 4.1

Specific Methods of Expressing Rwandan FRGS Sensemaking and Resilience	
Narrative Analysis on Rwandan FRGSs Testimony (from USC-Shoah Archive)	**Discourse Analysis on 12 News Articles (From the newspaper and TV news websites in the US, UK, Italy, Canada, and Qatar)**
Sensemaking: 1) The location of personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide (Macro-sensemaking)	**Characteristic I (Framing):** Highlighting of: 1) Enmity between Tutsis and Hutus 2) Virtues of reconciliation and the resilience of Rwandan society, and 3) Commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides.
2) The provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences (Macro-sensemaking)	**Characteristic II:** Use of a widely known macro timeline and structure (story arc), make use of multiple survivor and expert voices, and are written in a literary-professional style.
3) The recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations (Micro-sensemaking)	**Characteristic III (journalists' rhetorical strategies using Gee's 2011 categories i.e.):** ➢ Significance and identities (e.g. the historical ethnic tensions) ➢ Practices (e.g. the crime of mass-murder) ➢ Politics (e.g. desecration of social mores) ➢ Connections (e.g. Rwanda vs. The Holocaust and other genocides), and ➢ Sign systems and knowledge (e.g. references to religion or spirituality, science and psychology, and political science)
Resilience: Also mainly follows a two-pronged—i.e. macro vs. micro—format.	**Characteristic IV:** Use of multimodality and pictures
Answer to Secondary Qn.: Both processes of the formulation and expression of narrative sensemaking and resilience will vary, based on the specific background of an individual FRGS, i.e. the effects of societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality.	**Answer to Secondary Qn.:** The use of a three-pronged coherence system consisting of the following questions 1) What are these people's ethnic or other divisions? 2) Who are the good, and who are the evil, among them—OR: Who are the Victims/Wronged and the Victimizers? 3) What are the similarities and differences between them vs. us and or others, or the similarities and differences between their situation vs. others' or ours'?

4.2 Interpretation of Narrative and Critical Discourse Analysis Results

In the previous section, I have briefly recapped and holistically discussed the narrative and critical discourse analysis findings from the previous two chapters. In this section, I will offer some specific interpretations of the findings, with a particular focus on their contribution to the fields of general and intercultural communication theory, sociolinguistics, and mass media studies. But before embarking on that triangulation, I will briefly recap the studies from the introduction chapter's literature review, so as to once again highlight the empirical gap that this dissertation has attempted to fill.

Thus, this section is divided into two main parts. In section 4.2.1, I succinctly recap the theses of the studies from chapter one's literature review section, so as to highlight the similar studies that have been carried out in regard to the topics of FRGSs' identity negotiation, resilience, sensemaking, and narratives. In section 4.2.2, I review the new insights we can glean from this dissertation's narrative and CDA findings. To accomplish this task, I will compare and contrast my own narrative and CDA findings with the findings of the above-listed scholars' studies, under three sections i.e. general and intercultural communication theory, sociolinguistics, and mass media studies.

4.2.1 Recap of Intro-Chapter Lit-Review Theses

Chapter one's literature review was divided into two main parts, namely i) Five Seminal Studies on Mass-Conflict Survivorship With Large Populations and or Extended Durations of Research, and ii) Collection of Studies With Various (sub-) themes Discussing Mass Conflict, Resilience, and Identity. Below are the distilled contents of each of these parts.

Part I: Five Seminal Studies on Mass-Conflict Survivorship With Large Populations and or Extended Durations of Research. The first part of the literature review in chapter one discussed six studies by Kim (1990), Welaratna (1993), Malkki (1995), Foxen (2007), and Witteborn (2007, 2008). These studies cover specific aspects of mass-conflict survivorship in detail including the root causes of mass-conflicts; survivors' modes of coping or surviving the conflicts in their native lands, in transit, and in their new homelands; and the phenomenological quality of refugees' experiences as highlighted in their personal narratives.

The most relevant study in this set of six studies in the context of the foregoing narrative and discourse analysis findings, is Malkki's (1995) study, an extensive ethnography of Burundian Hutu refugees in a camp in northern Tanzania in 1972. Like Rwanda, its neighbor to the north, the east-central African nation of Burundi historically had two dominant occupational groups, the Hutu (the demographic majority) and Tutsi (the minority), and similar ethnic tensions, also exacerbated by colonial rule. In 1972, Hutu militias led an insurrection against the government that was bloodily quashed, and they sought refuge in Tanzania thereafter. Malkki's analysis highlighted two main groups of Burundian Hutu refugees. One group was mostly secular, whose individuals chose to stay in their assigned camps, with nostalgia for their homeland, and bitter towards the Tutsis that drove them out of their native country. The other group thrived in a new life in the town center of the region hosting the refugee camps, having created a new religious identity as Muslims, and livelihoods as traders, artisans, etc.—identities that were distinct from those of their origins.

Welaratna's (1993) study of Cambodian refugee families in California also makes use of ethnography and life-story curation to examine the lived experiences and challenges of genocide survivorship. Having survived the Khmer Rouge regime's massacres in their native country,

Cambodians in California were expected by social workers, educators, and other Americans to assimilate to American culture and values. However, Welaratna set out to understand the Cambodians' own values, and their explanation of their apparent reticence to fit into American life. Thus, her analysis went beyond the mere study of survivorship, with an emphasis on the Cambodians' Theravada Buddhist heritage and other distinct aspects of culture. Overall, Welaratna's subjects' discussions of their pre-post genocide experiences in Cambodia and about life in the USA highlighted the straddling of two worlds, namely one of their native heritage, the other of their new life in the USA in which success is mostly viewed as the possession of money.

Kim's study and its resultant theory—which was originally completed in 1990 but has been updated over the years—might be used as a counterpoint to the latter realization by Welaratna. In other words, if Welaratna's and other scholars studies suggest that refugees sometimes purposefully limit their assimilation into American culture, how can they be persuaded to become more active in American civic life, while still valuing their own heritage? Kim hypothesized that communication is a vital ingredient in cultural strangers' adaptation to new homelands, and she set out to investigate the roles of, and changes to five variables in refugees' lives in the United States namely English competence, interpersonal communication with host natives, consumption of host mass communication, psychological health, and personal fitness. The results of Kim's survey confirmed her hypothesis that the five factors above were indeed key to successful psycho-cultural adjustment.

But it is hard to argue that survivors' holistic perseverance (both in their native countries or in exile) after the trauma of genocide is as clear-cut as Kim's theory of cultural adaptation, and Foxen's (2007) study highlights some of the reasons for this difficulty. Foxen details the travails of the K'iche' Mayans from a town she calls "Xinxuc" in Guatemala, both there and in

Providence, RI. She contextualizes their challenges, giving a history of their discrimination by past governments and before that the colonists, and the brutal civil war that was especially tough on small towns such as "Xinxuc." While there's been a movement—with a big contribution of resources by Western NGOs—of a national Pan-Maya identity in Guatemala following the civil war, K'iche' Mayans in Providence have often found themselves living in close proximity to individuals who inflicted great harm on them and their families during the war. In the end, healing from trauma and reconciliation after genocide is complex and is accomplished using culturally specific ways, as in the example of one "Donizio," (one of the Foxen's subjects) and his recounting and enigmatic interpretation of a dream he had, which was symbolic of his restive mindset vis-à-vis his survivorship of the war in Guatemala.

Finally, Witteborn (2007, 2008) studies the narratives of populations of Palestinian and Iraqi refugees (respectively), and she uncovers several grand themes that recur throughout each set of narratives. For instance, among the Iraqi narratives, Witteborn traced four major themes among all narrators' stories, namely "War" (based on participants' experiences of the Gulf War of 1990), "Being Refugees and Resistors," "Being Survivors," and "Collective Action" (Witteborn, 2008). In the Palestinian narratives (Witteborn 2007), the author made note of the dichotomy of "happy vs. sad stories" that many of the narrators chose to use in classifying their narratives. She adds that the narrators would often tie their Palestinian identity to the stories and feelings of despair and suffering that they had experienced while growing up the occupied West Bank or in refugee camps in Jordan.

Part II: Collection of Studies With Various (sub-)themes Discussing Mass Conflict, Resilience, and Identity. Beyond the above seminal studies, the literature review in chapter one discussed five deducible sub-themes in a number of studies about mass conflict, resilience, and

identity, namely: 1) adaptation/assimilation 2) gender differences 3) negotiating collective identity, 4) use/improvement of narrative and discourse analysis methodologies, and 5) perception of Diaspora and collective memory. All-in-all, this second part of the literature review included a total of 15 studies spread throughout the above five themes. Below are the theses from each those themes.

Semlak et. al (2008), Aniko Hatoss' (2012), and Yabone Gilpin-Jackson's (2012) studies can be classified under the theme of the challenges of refugees' adaptation/assimilation. They report that generally, refugees face challenges and are presented with opportunities in their new societies of abode. Their agency helps them to navigate through two tensions, challenges vs. opportunity, and can be seen at work via the stories they tell.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that men and women will necessarily navigate the above tensions in distinct ways. Thus, under the gender differences theme, Einhorn (2001), Seu (2003), Warriner (2004), Pavlish (2007), Smith (2013) highlight the fact that in exile, women find it difficult to effectively look after their families, whereas men's egos are often negatively affected by the absence of a livelihood. Apparently, most of the responsibility—financial, moral-support, and other—ends up being the prerogative of women.

The theme of negotiating collective identity is paradoxically important and obvious in refugee and genocide survivor studies, yet is hard to clearly define and quantify, and thus is hard to study via its potential implications to refugees' wellbeing in the West or other countries of refuge. Two studies by Allan (2005) and Bikmen (2013) highlight two realities, namely 1) whereas past generations in exile historically often relied on story-telling and community gatherings to foster connections, the new generation relies more on the technologies of today. They might seem to care less about their heritage, but in truth, they care about it differently, and

2) refugees' successful integration in new host societies might alleviate some of their hostile feelings toward outgroups back in their native countries; this conclusion seems to align with Malkki's (1995) above.

The use of narrative and discourse analysis methodologies theme is emblematized by three research studies in this dissertation, namely Eastmond (2007) Helff (2009) Lustig and Tennakoon (2008). Altogether, the findings from these three studies can be interpreted as being in support of the meta-examination of narrative and discourse analysis methods, i.e. the deliberate attempt to critique these methods with a view to their improvement. This meta-examination also brings up ontological-epistemological questions about the concepts of genre and truth. Overall, the more we know about the essence of these methodologies, the better for our research subjects, and the integrity of our conclusions.

Finally, like the theme of negotiating collective identity, the diaspora and collective memory theme seems to be covered by most authors indeliberately, in tandem with other themes and issues. But at least two studies—one by Conrad (2006), the other by Kim (2013)—highlight the fact that in exile, refugees engage in sociopolitical conflicts and debates with each other, their old governments, and the people and governments of their new homelands. Conrad concludes by remarking that albeit Malkki's (1995) study, which gave us a glimpse of the dangers of adopting false and totalizing national myths, the PFDJ and the opposition have remained in a standoff to-date, with no end in sight to their contestations of history and identity. And after a discussion about the different ways that mass conflict survivors have been known to deal with trauma (i.e. keeping quiet about the past, discussing it widely, or even the occasional amnesia caused by extreme suffering), Kim asserts that North Korean refugees' nostalgia for their past lives is not as incongruous with mass-conflict survivorship as we might think. In the present, they try to make

meaning of their past suffering, hence the nostalgia. Occasionally, they also idealize their past spartan lives in North Korea, a vastly different experience compared to the South Korean capitalist lifestyle that they say can sometimes feel soulless.

4.2.2 Review of New Insights

Clearly, a number of scholars have covered various aspects of FRGSs' identity negotiation, resilience, sensemaking, and narratives. However, few have tackled the specific topic of the expression of specific FRGS populations' sensemaking and resilience both by the FRGSs themselves, and by mass-media journalists and commentators.

In the previous two chapters, I studied the above topic using narrative and critical discourse analysis methods, and I uncovered a number of traits of both Rwandan FRGSs' own, and Western journalists' discussion of their (FRGSs) sensemaking and resilience (see section and table 4.1 above). What are some of the arguable insights from these new findings, from the point of view of scholars in the fields of general and intercultural communication, sociolinguistics, and mass media studies?

4.2.2. a. General and Intercultural Communication. From the point of view of this discipline, the two seminal theoretical studies we can utilize in our review of this dissertation's analysis are Goffman (1995), and Martin & Nakayama (2010).

Goffman's main thrust is a discussion of the roles of "ritualization, participation framework, and embedding" in conversations (pg. 3) in interactions; "social life is but a stage…deeply incorporated into the nature of talk are the fundamental requirements of theatricality." (pg. 3) In the context of this dissertation, ritualization, participation framework, and embedding will all necessarily play important roles in an FRGS' act of story-telling or provision of testimony about their genocide survival and or exile experiences. During their story-

telling or testimony provision, all four FRGSs in chapter two use dramatization (e.g. via vocal paralanguage) and gestures; assume the primary roles of principal and speaker; and extensively quote the words of others. Another effect of Goffman's premise can be observed in the answer to chapter two's secondary question, as recapped below:

> Question:
>
> Is Rwandan FRGS' sensemaking of the events of the genocide and their strategies of resilience necessarily affected by elements such as (among many others) societal gender normativity, their socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal disposition, and religiosity/spirituality? If so, how?
>
> Answer:
>
> Both processes of the formulation and expression of narrative sensemaking and resilience will vary, based on the specific background of an individual FRGS, i.e. the effects of societal gender & sexual normativity, socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal dispositions, and religiosity/spirituality.

In the above answer, there are at least two characteristics that can have an overt effect on an FRGS' story-telling style. A cisgendered heterosexual male FRGS will most likely sound and gesture differently than a cisgendered heterosexual female FRGS. Similarly, a male or female FRGS who has a constantly quiet, timid, or soft-spoken disposition will necessarily sound and gesture differently from one who is usually boisterous.

The purview of Martin & Nakayama's (2010) text is narrower; an overview of the three main theoretical and empirical frameworks in the study of intercultural communication namely functionalism, interpretivism, and critical theory. Generally, this dissertation's narrative and CDA results have aspects of all three of the above perspectives. By default, they are the result of

an empirical research attempt to deliberately study, quantify, and even predict (within limits) the communication mediums and styles used by at least two culturally distinct groups of human subjects i.e. Rwandan FRGSs, and Western journalists. This characteristic is well-aligned with the functionalist perspective. And yet, a considerable amount of the results by and large reify the stance of interpretivism in regard to the innate uniqueness or subjectivity, and creativity of individual humans' behavior and communication. A salient example here is the second characteristic of Rwandan FRGSs' sensemaking, listed on left side of table 4.1 above, i.e. the provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences (macro-sensemaking), vs. the third characteristic of journalists' retelling of FRGS stories listed on the right side of the table, i.e. the rhetorical strategies that can be identified using five of Gee's (2011) building tasks of critical discourse analysis. The CDA results also highlight the power that Western journalists and media houses yield vis-à-vis the propagation of ideologically loaded perspectives of Rwandan FRGS and Rwandan society at large, e.g. via highlighting the historical tensions between Tutsis and Hutus, and the virtues of reconciliation.

4.2.2. b. Sociolinguistics. Tannen (1993), Wierzbicka (1991, 1997), Scollon & Scollon (1995), and Donohue (2012) are the authors that can guide our review within this field.

Of the four scholars above, the essay by Tannen (and the other sociolinguists in her book) about framing in discourse is the most theoretically overarching. She analyzes the insights of frames—i.e. "metamessages" (pg. 3)—or the knowledge of why people communicate the way they do in specific instances in various settings e.g. at home, hospitals, and in intercultural contexts. The general salience of this dissertation's narrative and CDA results is a clearer understanding of the basic processes of life-story/testimony recitation by FRGSs and their retellings in mass-media.

In contrast to Tannen's broad survey of discourse frames in various contexts, Wierzbicka's (1991, 1997) theoretical contribution to sociolinguistics is granular and makes a bold assertion. Across most or all human cultures and languages, she claims, there are universal underlying meanings for various concepts. She lists 27 "universal semantic primitives" (also known as "semantic primes")—universal concepts that are hard to clearly define but are experienced across all human cultures—(pg. 8) under eight categories (pronouns, determiners, classifiers, adjectives, verbs, modals, place/time, and linkers). For the most part, the results from this dissertation's narrative analysis are the most relevant to Wierzbicka's work. The four FRGSs in chapter three extensively use semantic primes from all the above categories, and one of the most dramatic examples here are is their use of the concepts of time and place. And apropos to the universality of Wierzbicka's "semantic primes," it might be worthwhile for future studies to investigate whether the techniques of narrative sensemaking and resilience identified in chapter two, can also be applied to stories or narratives of survivors in contexts beyond genocide and mass-conflict (e.g. survivors of violent crime or natural disasters).

The work of Scollon & Scollon (1995) also focuses on intercultural communication. The authors assert that in various intercultural communication contexts (e.g. professional meetings between American and Chinese executives), misunderstandings often occur because of the lack of shared knowledge and the clash of cultural values. Indeed, the results from this dissertation's narrative analysis confirm this. Clearly, the background of a speaker influences his/her sensemaking; if his/her listener cannot relate to that background, there will be some misunderstandings. The CDA results also confirm that journalists' Western-centric coherence system influences their understanding and coverage of the Rwandan (and other) genocides.

Finally, Donohue (2012) focuses on the specific styles of language used to catalyze the formation and reification of in-groups and out-groups, using the example of radio broadcasts during the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Given the fact that his work focuses on mass communication during the genocide vs. my focus on interpersonal and mass communication *after* the genocide, the link between my analysis and his is weak. However, one can argue that the narrative analysis results can be studied to consider the potential applications of post-conflict identity narratives in fostering reconciliation, unity, constructive conflict, and peace.

4.2.2. c. Mass Media. In addition to the previous two disciplines, we can use the works of Sontag (2003), Thompson (2007), and Alozie (2010) in our review of this dissertation's analysis results, from the point of view of mass media theory. Unfortunately, the analyses of most of these authors reveal a number of ethical and operational weaknesses on the part of media houses during and after mass conflicts.

Sontag's essay argues that beyond their value as visceral spectacles, pictures and videos of violence, war, pain and suffering, do not substantively inform or educate the masses. The journalists who record and use them do so using frames, and viewers (e.g. average well-off middle class Americans) that have never experienced those situations, cannot empathize with the subjects of the media. As recapped above in section/table 4.1, the CDA results from chapter three lend credence to this assertion. In each of the characteristics I through IV, and as reflected in the answer to the secondary question, journalists' coverage of the Rwandan genocide tends to fit within a narrow set of frames. The multimodality characteristic is particularly relevant here, as the mediums that she discusses—i.e. pictures and video—are invaluable to the frames of the journalists / media houses.

Thompson's (2007) study both contrasts and complements Sontag's argument above. He reports that Rwandan local media were used as a tool for rallying and organizing Hutus to massacre their fellow citizens whereas by and large, the international media houses did not cover the story of the genocide and the failure of the international community to stop it. But according to Alozie (2010), the African press also shares in the above mentioned culpability, and they also made use of frames during their limited genocide coverage. However, their frames are more tailored to the African audience's mindset, e.g. via advocating for homegrown solutions and decrying international inaction. The press of Kenya also had a regional-centric angle in their coverage (i.e. strife in Rwanda = potential for the spread of mass-conflict in the wider East African region).

In the aftermath of these sins of commission and omission, the CDA results above suggest a partial redemptive effort. Each year since 1994, the international press has published and broadcast stories in commemoration of the genocide, and the results above were mostly gleaned from an analysis of stories that were published during the 20th commemoration. However, the still unanswered question is whether journalists and commentators can provide a more thorough historical analysis and contextualization of the conflict and its aftermath, as opposed to the simplistic 'Hutu vs. Tutsi tribal conflict' theme.

4.3 Limitations and Alternative Frameworks

Most reasonable scholars will readily admit that their empirical studies are far from perfect, e.g. thanks to the methods they have chosen to use, other choices they have made over the course of the study, and the unforeseen circumstances they have encountered along the way (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). This dissertation's study is no exception. In this section, I will briefly examine some of the limitations that have hampered the study and their possible effects

on its results, and I will also look at two theoretical-methodological frameworks that I could have used in the investigation, and their potential results.

4.3.1 Limitation of Study

The main limitation I can extensively discuss here is related to my choice of qualitative research methods i.e. narrative and critical discourse analysis, and my choice of using the USC-Shoah video archive as opposed to carrying out the interviews myself. It is conceivable that I could have made use of a quantitative method such as a survey, or perhaps a mixed quantitative-qualitative set of methods such as a three to six month ethnography and a survey. And indeed, this—i.e. an ethnography and a survey—was my first choice of method(s).

However, I was hampered by inadequate funding, as well as the inability to extensively travel, as my permanent residency in the USA was gained via political asylum. And thus, with an absence of a long-enough documented field visit (i.e. via notes, journals, etc.), life stories or testimonies told directly by Rwandan FRGSs were ideal for investigating my topic, supplemented by an analysis of news texts so as to interrogate these stories' retellings by Western journalists/commentators.

Overall, I believe the above limitation's effect on the results of this study is negligible. By their very nature, I submit that expressions of sensemaking and resilience are phenomenological and cannot accurately be described by quantitative analysis. One has to carry out a qualitative analysis similar to what I have used to try to describe those expressions. Also, the choice of the USC-Shoah archive as my source for the testimonies was made after realizing that the archive's testimonies were thorough, covering FRGSs experiences in Rwanda before, during, and after the genocide, and for some, in exile after the genocide. The archive also has

testimonies of FRGSs both in Rwanda (i.e. Mr. Mutanguha) and in the US (i.e. Messrs. Ndamwizeye and Nsabimana, and Ms. Kaligirwa).

4.3.2 Alternative Frameworks

Still, critics could argue that my analysis might be skewed by the lack of a macro perspective—i.e. one that emphasizes the macro historical, political, and social context of sensemaking and resilience expression. Other critics could argue that the analysis is not critical enough; after all, it is arguable that the main cause of the Rwandan genocide was the 'divide & rule' colonial modus operandi (Mamdani, 2001). I concede that both criticisms have some validity. Below is a brief exploration of two sets of exemplary hypothetical questions, empirical research design features, and analysis results that I might have used and yielded by both approaches.

4.3.2. a. Macro Socio-Cultural / Political Analysis: Example of the Fisher-Nikolaev Framework. This theoretical-methodological framework, from the work of Fisher (1997) and Nikolaev (2007) poses the following questions regarding a sample human population: i) what are the main elements of a certain (in this case, Rwandan) foreign mindset? ii) what are the political aspects of that mindset, and iii) what are the economic and business elements of that mindset? Using both secondary research for background information and primary research using methods such as surveys and ethnography, I would have compiled my answers. Based on the available secondary research (e.g. Newbury 1988, Crisafulli and Redmond 2014) about Rwanda, some of the answers to the above questions are: i) hierarchical centralized system of power ii) strict adherence to leaders' rules, and iii) system of national socio-economic governance based on corporate modi operandi. It should be noted that the above answers do not suggest any direct relevance to the topic of sensemaking and resilience expression.

4.3.2. b. Critical Intercultural Theory. The two studies I could have used as models in the design of a critical intercultural theoretical research study are by Halualani (2002) and Chen and Collier (2012). In her study of native Hawaiian resistance to colonial authority, Halualani relies on Stuart Hall's description of identity in the context of culturalism and postculturalism. She also relies on Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation as she demonstrates how exploitative social relations have been fostered in the state of Hawaii since its colonization by the US government. Similarly, Chen and Collier make use of critical discourse analysis to highlight the avowals and ascriptions of a Southwestern US nongovernmental organization's leaders, staff, and clients. Their analysis reveals the perpetuation of ideologies such as 'Asian model minority' and 'individual meritocracy' by the nongovernmental organization.

Overall, the limited use of an analytical framework similar to Chen and Collier's above might have been feasible on my data, e.g. via scrutiny of Mr. Ndamwizeye's testimony, in light of the realization I make in chapter two of his sexual orientation. However, I believe the use of a framework similar to Halualani's would have required the collection of additional data e.g. via historical texts and ethnography, among other methods.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have carried out a holistic recap and discussion of the preceding chapters' narrative and critical discourse analysis results, and I have reviewed those results from the theoretical-analytical points of view of general and intercultural communication, sociolinguistics, and media theory. I have also briefly critiqued the results' limitations and analytical blind spots.

This discussion and review has highlighted the schism between the sensemaking and resilience expressions of Rwandan FRGSs themselves, and Western journalists and

commentators, and some of the implications of that schism. It has also highlighted the alignment between the narrative and CDA results and some of the seminal works of the aforementioned three theoretical points of view.

All-in-all, this chapter acknowledges that this dissertation's study of the expression of sensemaking and resilience by Rwandan FRGSs and Western journalists/commentators is not infallible. But it has focused on a topic that has hitherto been inadequately studied (if at all), and future studies can delve further into it.

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Chapter Five:

Chapter Recap, Applications, and Conclusion

Table of Contents

5.1 Chapter Recap

5.1.1. Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

After the provision of a relevant theoretical-empirical background, the main primary research questions for the study are listed as: 1) How is sensemaking and resilience expressed in the narratives and discourses of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors? 2) What are the differences between the ways Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors (FRGS) tell their own stories, and the way other commentators tell or talk about their stories in the media?

Two main data sets are introduced, namely life-stories or testimonies from the USC-Shoah video archive, and a set of 12 news articles from media houses in the US, UK, Canada, and Italy. Narrative analysis procedures stemming from conventions by Labov and Waletsky (1967, 1972), Goffman (1981), Schiffrin (1993), Linde (1993), and Gee (2011) are introduced, as are framing and critical discourse analysis procedures stemming from the work of Entman (1993), Laclau & Mouffe (2001), McCombs (2004), Machin and Mayr (2012), and Jorgensen and Philips (2012).

At the time of writing, this author planned to study Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors' narrative coherence and resilience. Later, the second variable was changed to sensemaking. This was after the realization that the concept of coherence was inappropriate to allow a comprehensive study of narrative and critical discourse analysis data. Overall, the main two data sets and the analysis procedures envisioned in this chapter were followed through the end of the study, save for the aforementioned substitution of the variable of coherence with sensemaking.

5.1.2. Chapter 2: Narrative Analysis

This is the first of two core data presentation and analysis chapters, a study of four life-stories or testimonies of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors (FRGSs, i.e. Freddy Mutanguha, Daniel Ndamwizeye, Esperance Kaligirwa, and Arsene Nsabimana), retrieved from the USC-Shoah video archive. It provides an overview and life-story context of those four FRGSs' life-stories, examples of sensemaking and resilience from their transcribed testimonies, and the answers to the chapter's relevant secondary research question (i.e. is Rwandan FRGS' sensemaking of the events of the genocide and their strategies of resilience necessarily affected by elements such as societal gender normativity, their socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal disposition, and religiosity/spirituality? If so, how?).

The types of sensemaking and resilience are identified as 1) locating personal experiences within or outside of the generally known/accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide, 2) the provision of thematic narratives of lived personal experiences, and 3) recounting of specific details via time and place, description of past thoughts and states of being, and evaluations or interpretations. In addition, the chapter's secondary question is answered in the affirmative, and examples from the four FRGSs' transcribed testimonies are given so as to show the precise influence of the five elements (i.e. societal gender normativity, their socioeconomic status, the breadth and cohesion of their social networks, personal disposition, and religiosity/spirituality) to their sensemaking and resilience.

5.1.3. Chapter 3: Critical Discourse Analysis

This is the last of the two core data presentation and analysis chapters, a study of 12 newspaper articles from the media houses in the US, UK, Canada, and Italy. An overview and context of all 12 articles is provided, a framing and critical discourse analysis is executed, and the chapter's relevant secondary question is answered (i.e. do non-Rwandan FRGS mass media

commentators' retellings of genocide survival and resilience highlight their own Western coherence systems and ideologies?).

Three main characteristics are explicated as part of the Western media's post-genocide Rwanda frame, namely 1) the tendency to simplify the cause of the genocide as enmity between Tutsis and Hutus, with inadequate credit given to other responsible factors, 2) frequency and emphasis on stories of virtues of reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, and the resilience and survival of Rwandan survivors and the society-at-large, and 3) deliberate and de-facto (unintended) interpretations of commonality between the Rwandan and other genocides and mass conflicts. In addition, the results of a critical discourse analysis are provided, classified under three main analytic tools, namely: 1) general common features of corpus, 2) Gee's 6 x 7 analysis results, and 3) other notable features of corpus (e.g. multimodality & pictures).

Finally, the answer to the chapter's relevant secondary question is provided as: Western journalists' and commentators' understanding of the Rwandan genocide, its survivors, and the other characters, characteristics, and issues involved in it, is accomplished with the use of a three-pronged coherence system. This same system can be used, and is often used, on other genocides and mass-conflicts around the world being covered by Western mass media. In the case of Rwanda, three questions—based on the three prongs of the coherence system—can be posed and explicated thus: i) What are these people's ethnic or other divisions? For Rwanda, it was "Hutus v. Tutsis." ii) Who are the good, and who are the evil? OR: Who are the Victims/Wronged and the Victimizers? iii) What are the similarities and differences between them vs. us and or others, or the similarities and differences between their situation vs. others' or ours'? E.g. in this case, Rwanda v. Iraq, or Rwandan Tutsis vs. the Jews (and other victims) of the Holocaust.

5.1.4. Chapter 4: Discussion of Analysis Findings and Limitations of Study

In this chapter, a holistic juxtaposition and discussion is carried out on the analysis results of the previous two chapters, as well as an exploration of the limitations of the study, and at least two alternative theoretical-methodological analytical frameworks that could have been used. First, the characteristics of the previous chapters' analysis results are explored, in an attempt to highlight the dynamics of three main features, namely: 1) the expression of sensemaking and resilience (i.e. both by Rwandan FRGSs and Western journalists and/or commentators), 2) the story arc, or the generally known or accepted historical narrative of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 against the Tutsis, and 3) the secondary questions and answers of the previous two chapters.

The second main task of the discussion is the interpretation of the narrative and critical discourse analysis results. This in turn consists of two main sub-tasks, namely the recap of the introduction chapter's literature review themes, and the review of the narrative and critical discourse analysis results from the points of view of three academic (sub-)fields namely general and intercultural communication theory, sociolinguistics, and mass media theory. The main limitation of the study is identified as the choice of qualitative methods as opposed to mixed qualitative-quantitative methods, and the use of the USC-Shoah video archive as opposed to gathering the data using field work myself. Overall, this limitation is determined to have no substantial negative impact on the study. Finally, the two alternative methods highlighted—i.e. the Fisher-Nikolaev framework & critical intercultural theory—are lauded for their relevant analytic potential. However, it is determined that their use would have been hampered by the data sets and the research design that was used in the study.

5.2 Applications

The foregoing analysis findings can be of use in a significant number of contexts and settings, and below are three main avenues that can be used to classify these contexts and settings. The list is not conclusive, and there might be overlaps between all three avenues.

5.2.1. Advancement of Cross-Cultural Understanding

The understanding of Rwandan FRGSs' sensemaking and resilience expression styles as well as those of Western journalists can help professionals (e.g. social workers, lawyers, and policy makers) and the general public to sympathize with men and women that have persevered through suffering *in extremis*. As aforementioned in chapter four, sensemaking and resilience expression might also be of use to victims of other types of violence, such as violent crime and rape. And by critically studying journalists' retellings of FRGS life-stories, we can learn how *not* to think about former refugees and survivors. No, these individuals are not victims of "never-ending 'tribal conflicts' ". Rather, they are survivors of a conflict that was precipitated by various factors, including the legacy of divisive colonial policies and post-colonial governance malpractices.

As Keim (1999) points out, the continent of Africa has been misunderstood for a long time, and this misunderstanding hinders the good will that Westerners often have vis-à-vis humanitarian causes. Perhaps most importantly in this context; as educators of future journalists, teacher-scholars of mass media can teach their students how *not* to cover conflict in the Middle-East and Africa. For instance, critical discourse analysis reveals that the coverage by media houses such as PBS and the NY Times, while not perfect, often goes beyond the perfunctory and sensationalist stories broadcast by CBS and the UK Daily Mail.

5.2.2. FRGSs' Wellbeing

It should be noted in earnest that by discussing sensemaking and resilience expression, this author is not claiming that the simple act of talking about one's experience as an FRGS is therapeutic. And yet, one cannot rule out the possibility that it is possible for an FRGS to achieve catharsis in a non-clinical setting. The results from chapter two suggest that resilience is not simply enacted; rather, it is also verbalized and reified on an ongoing basis. One can also argue that it might be helpful for one to first make sense of their experiences and to verbally construct and reify their resilience, before seeking professional psychological help.

The experience of AVEGA (*Association des Veuves du Genocide*), the national association of genocide widow-survivors in Rwanda, also suggests that internal discussion among FRGSs of genocide survival experiences can be of immense help in their mental and emotional perseverance (e.g. Topping, 2014). In this vein, it is arguable that the answer to chapter two's secondary question can help genocide survivors in the improvement of their emotional intelligence; the experience of a poor survivor and a rich survivor can be both vastly similar and yet also different in various ways, as the experiences of Freddy Mutanguha and his childhood Jean-Paul show us. Mutanguha is now the director of the national genocide memorial in Kigali, but he notes in his interview that Jean-Paul died of cholera in the DR Congo, to where he had escaped with his family after the genocide for fear of retribution based on his Hutu identity.

5.2.3. Justice and Conflict Resolution

In recent years, the government of Rwanda under President Paul Kagame has been heavily criticized by numerous Western non-governmental organizations for alleged human rights violations (e.g. Gettleman, 2013). Unfortunately, some of these organizations have also propagated the notion that there was no genocide in Rwanda in 1994, or that the government of

the late President Habyarimana and the Interahamwe militias were not responsible for the deaths of over 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus (e.g. Snow, 2008). By highlighting the life-stories of Rwandan FRGSs and the sensemaking and resilience expression therefrom, scholars can discourage such revisionism and genocide denial. Testimonies of Rwandan FRGSs can also help in the tracking and prosecution of genocide suspects. For instance, in his testimony, Freddy Mutanguha notes that he knows of a suspect that currently lives in Argentina.

As Rakhmiel Peltz has noted, often, stories of survivors recorded five years after the genocide will sound different when those same survivors tell them 20, 40 years later; genocide survivors often assign much less blame, years after the genocide has passed (R. Peltz, personal communication March 2014). This implies that the search for justice and reconciliation after genocide is an ongoing quest. Thus, life-stories or testimonies by survivors have to continue being told, and scholars have to continually analyze them to understand their principals' sensemaking and resilience expression, and its implications vis-à-vis justice and reconciliation.

5.3 Conclusion

This dissertation has reported and discussed the research findings of a study about the sensemaking and resilience expression of Rwandan former refugees and genocide survivors (FRGSs), both as expressed in their own life-stories or testimonies, and as retold by Western journalists. Data from two main sources—i.e. four Rwandan FRGS testimony videos from the USC-Shoah archive and 12 news articles from media houses in four Western countries—was analyzed using narrative and critical discourse analysis methods.

The findings from that analysis reveal that Rwandan FRGSs express sensemaking and resilience in at least three specific ways, and that Western journalists retell their stories using a coherence system influenced by their Western-centric ideologies. The findings from this research

study can be helpful to Rwandan FRGSs themselves, Western journalists, social workers, lawyers, policy makers, and the general public in at least three specific avenues namely advancement of cross-cultural understanding, FRGS wellbeing, and justice and conflict resolution.

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Appendix A (For Chapter One):

Narrative Analysis Sample(s)

Table of Contents

1. USC-Shoah Video Archive Preliminary Analysis

I. Freddy Mutanguha

General Impressions:

- **His is longest story out of all of them; 4 hours. Richest story as well thematically**
- **His is the most coherent story as well. He seems to be a practiced story-teller.**
- **He is obviously a leader by nature/disposition.**
- **Mostly stoic, but the tortured soul comes out—for instance while discussing the nightmares of his parents' and sisters' dying voices.**
- **Lots of meta-analyses, thanks to his leadership profile**
- **Very clear story arc**

- Story of parents' meeting
- Father's death
- Return of mum and him as a kid from Rwanda
- Tough living conditions in Rwanda on return
- Living with sister
- School; first day
- Enmities between Hutu and Tutsi while growing up
- The role of politics in those divisions
- Recap: discrimination of father at his job
- 10 miles to school—one way
- Particular incident he told his mum about; a classmate (?) used to call Tutsis cockroaches (*inyenzi*), and the Hutu kids would gang up and beat up on Tutsi kids. This particular incident was so bad that the kids had gotten hospitalized.
- Quick flash-forward (?): A good number of his step-siblings survived
- He had a bit of a "jock" status in high school. Soccer player, sterling grades, etc.
- The first time he sat for his national high school entry exams, he "failed"—i.e. because of discrimination, then got lucky and got accepted the 2nd time in 1990 (there had been a formation of a national unity government, and the education minister was a moderate Hutu).

- Couldn't go to school in Gisenyi—the Hutus there were extremist

- Differences via paths of life had arisen with Jean-Pierre, a Hutu childhood friend. He had dropped out of school because of poor academic performance. Flash-forward; he died later during the genocide.

- Upon the invasion of the country by the RPF in 1990, a good number of stark differences arose in the daily lives of the citizens.

    - Stories had already started filtering in prior to 1990
    - With invasion, hatred of Tutsis increased
        - Soldiers started roaming the streets
        - Politicians and business persons were arrested and killed
        - The economy nose-dived
        - Parents were scared for their children
        - When Rwigyema—a rebel leader—was killed, the government ordered all students and teachers to symbolically bury him so as to mark the occasion

- Recap of his feelings about "failing" national exams the first time:
    - His mum had been clever in convincing him to repeat—he had initially refused to repeat
        - Had told him he could perhaps go to a seminary albeit without training for priesthood

- Him and his male friends had been the first group (25 total) of boys to be allowed into a formerly all-girl school (the new education minister had made many policy changes).

- Difficult first days in the school because it was in a co-ed transition; eating and sleeping arrangements had to be ironed out.

- On his first night, he had had to use grass as a mattress.

- The high school had a nursing specialty. He wasn't taking math anymore, yet he had enjoyed it before, and he was frustrated he wasn't first in class anymore. Was just 2nd, 3rd, 4th! :-)

- Also, the discipline at the school was too stringent, yet a neighboring school with an established co-ed culture was more liberal

- 1994; start of the genocide:

    - Multiparty politics had been based on ethnicity
        - The suffix "Power" was attached to all parties in the ruling coalition
        - Habyarimana had been clever in forming the coalition

    - Roadblocks were Tutsis were executed had already started (before 1994) in Rugesera and other places.

- Recap/flashback: discrimination practices against Tutsis from primary school had continued into high school. New students had to self-identify as either Hutu or Tutsi

- Discrimination included exclusion from weekly communal service (*Umuganda*).

- Rumors had started spreading that Tutsis were planning to kill Hutus.

- History teachers would also teach how Tutsis had mistreated Hutus

- Teachers would conspire with key groups of students

- In high school, friendships between Tutsis and Hutus were hard. Personally for Freddy, he could trust Hutus the way he had trusted Jean Paul (JP), his Hutu friend from childhood. The atmosphere (via relations had changed for worse).

- March 1994; Easter. There were political party differences, but no danger of death. Then, Habyarimana's plane crashed. This was like a trigger. People who hadn't hated Tutsis started then because they thought Habyarimana had been killed by the RPF.

- Freddy personally had thought the plane crash was a good thing (i.e. now we'll be at peace). But his parents (mum and step-father) said, "[Now] we're finished."

- April 7th: He sees friends and JP.

- Lunchtime (still on April 7th): Militias and neighbors (part of militias) start organizing.

- The first person killed was one Rwandeke—a neighbor—at 3 PM.

- Roadblocks were established

- Freddy met with family and friends

- Family wondered where to go. From experience of '59, Hutus wanted young men mostly, not women. His mum: go to JP for protection, OR, go elsewhere.

- Pacifique ([?] a Hutu relative) warned Freddy that his father and brother were part of the militia, so Freddy couldn't stay at their house. So, Pacifique told Freddy to hide in his (Pacifique's) room for the night.

- Told him to leave before roundup the next day.

- Killings and rapes from 7th April onwards

- Freddy was hiding in JP's house
- JP knew the risk that he was taking for Freddy
- Freddy's family was killed on the 14th. They had first been spared in exchange for money and food.
- JP was poor, and his family had one meal per day.
- Freddy's mum would come with food at night on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th.
- Bodies had started smelling
- By April 12th, almost all Tutsis had been killed.
- On the night of April 13th, his mum said goodbye; she had brought him the last food she could get for him.
- "If you survive, be a man."
- On April 14th while hiding in JP's house, Freddy heard his mum and sisters being beaten and killed.
- He still gets nightmares listening to the same sounds.
- "Sometimes, I feel happy I heard it." (As in, it's some kind of closure for him) "Other times, I don't have peace…[but] life has to continue."
- JP came back that day and confirmed that Freddy's family had been killed.
- But, some of his sisters had survived. 2 came to JP's house, but 1 (Rosette) wasn't with the other two.
- April 15th: JP's brother called militias to come and kill Freddy's sisters. But, JP saved Freddy and the sister with him (at JP's house) by saying that they are Burundian.
- Still, JP said, it's time to leave, coz your lives are in danger here (at his house).
- Freddy escaped with sister in the company of JP and his friends. JP gave Freddy and his sister some little money.
- Freddy and his sister walked to their aunt's house. She was married to a Hutu.
- Aunt's husband hid them
- Freddy for the first time in his life started working on a farm with the aunt's family

- Militias would try and kill Freddy and sister, but the uncle would protect them. He had to pay money for them to spare his own wife—who was also a Tutsi.

- One day, militias grabbed Freddy and sister to take them to district HQ so as to ascertain their true nationality (they were still passing themselves off as Burundian).

- Freddy paid off the militia, but he decided to leave aunt's place. Took his uncle's (Hutu) ID card, changed his and his sister's names, and went to neighboring district to seek out an administrator who had been their family friend.

- However, the wife told Freddy that the administrator had become an extremist and was killing Tutsis. He wasn't home when they got there.

- Administrator came back later that night and said no to Freddy and his sister's request for identity/travel papers. He was surprised (and angry) that they were still alive.

- He chased them away, and wanted to kill them right away, but his wife stopped him. Viateur—the son of the administrator—was a friend of Freddy. The administrator (his dad) had told him to take Freddy and sister to the nearby roadblock to be killed, but he had refused. They all went to bed, but administrator intended to kill Freddy and sister the next day.

- Freddy and his sister escaped in the night.

- The admin was mad about that, and ordered his neighbors to kill the "cockroaches."

- Freddy and his sister were able to run away, went to the next district, but were caught trying to avoid a roadblock. They were taken to the local district HQ. Freddy told the administrator there a fake story.

- The admin gave Freddy and his sister papers to cross roadblocks, and even gave them a car to take them to a Hutu refugee camp

- In the camp, Freddy almost got identified as Tutsi, but the food server just wanted a bribe.

- His sister went to her school director's house to stay there.

- Recap: Freddy's four sisters had been sent to JP's house to join Freddy. But JP's brother called the militia to kill them. They got hacked and thrown into latrines. Two of them had been thrown in while still alive

- Back to current point in story: at the end of May 1994, Freddy was in the Hutu refugee camp, surrounded by Hutu militia.

- He had thrown away his IDs and pass, and had separated with his sister. She was at the school director's house. He had secretly moved into a nearby house (school director had chased him away, only wanted to help the sister).

- He then went to WFP at the refugee camp to try and get food and a job. He got a job, unloading food from the trucks. Almost got identified again by an old schoolmate who was yelling, "you Tutsi you're still alive, you, Freddy!"

- But, he had been using a false name with a fake ID, so the old schoolmate had made a fool of himself.

- Freddy then went to the RPF zone of the country, i.e. Kigali

- Kigali was a ghost town, so he was able to get a free empty house.

- Heard on a radio station that his step brother worked there (at that particular radio station). Reunited with him.

- Later, also met a friend of his dad. That friend took him to meet his dad's relatives. He was very traumatized at the time after having gone through all the events of the past few months.

- One of dad's relatives also took him on a visit to Burundi ([?] to meet other relatives [?]).

- In October, he happily reunited with his sister.

    - When he was reuniting with her, he hadn't wanted to shock her, so he had told someone to first go prep her--"your brother is looking for you…"
    - She came to him, hugged him, and they went to Kigali together

- They finally didn't have to worry about security, just the future (education, livelihoods, etc.).

- Did not feel fully secure till after reuniting with sister in October.

- Later found out the fates (manner of deaths) of grandfather and grandmother. Grandfather had pleaded with the killers to let him see wife 1 last time.

- Rosette hadn't wanted to go to grandparents' village, but Freddy wanted to know what had befallen them (grandparents).

- Grandparents' bodies had been dumped in latrines.

- Freddy had also gone to rebury mum at the end of 1994. She had been buried in shallow grave.

- Again, Rosette hadn't wanted to go there; had been getting too many nightmares.
- Freddy had also reburied the sisters—he, with the help of some friends, had exhumed them from the latrines where they'd been dumped.
- JP had fled to Congo with other Hutus, but he had died there of "diarrhea" in 1998 (note by Seif: there were widespread news reports of cholera epidemics in the Hutu refugee camps of Congo).
- Viateur is alive, but his family also died of "diarrhea" in the Congo.
- Freddy and his sister left uncle's house after he died. Freddy returned to high school, then college on scholarship.

>>> **Sub-title: Inter-survivor relations** <<<

- Survivors used not to do well in school because of trauma.
- In 1999, he lost his friend (shot by security guards on the street in unclear circumstances). At the funeral, a group of survivors—Freddy included—started sharing their experiences from the genocide.
- Soon thereafter, they formed an association. That helped reduce trauma and academic failure rates.
- Rwandan survivor associations had intricate/sophisticated policies. They'd even form "artificial families," complete with elective positions of group father & mother (for guidance and leadership in the group). He was elected a "father" by his group of fellow survivors.
- The Aegis Trust helped him get a job after graduation from college.
- He discusses his love of helping fellow survivors
    - He was a student leader, a good public speaker, etc.
    - Because of his lobbying, the rector of his college provided a lot of support for survivors.
- Participated in the Gacaca courts
- Believes in justice for the genocide. But, sometimes his testimony wasn't heeded
- He knows some of the people who killed his parents and sisters
- After the genocide, he had hated Hutus.

- But then he realized that he can't be a survivor and a revenge seeker at once, and had to stop collective blame.

- Role of religion: parents were catholic. He wasn't very devout.

- After genocide, decided not to go back at all, coz priests and believers had been perpetrators.

- But later, became Pentecostal/member of "Assemblies of God" church.

- Future message: He wishes that all survivors can speak, so as for the experiences to be collected and preserved.

II. Immaculee Mukangoga
(Please Note: This interview was conducted in Kinyarwanda, with English subtitles)

General Impressions:

- **This interview is harder to process because it's conducted in Kinyarwanda, with subtitles in English**
- **Immaculee's disposition is generally stoic, calm, peaceful, even strong.**
- **To me, the obvious feature that stands out the most is her role as a good caretaker of many orphans**

- Background; born in Sanza, Kivumu

- Had 9 siblings; she's the 2nd born

- 5 survived the genocide

- Her sister Venancie died with her 6 children and husband

- One of her sisters would sell local brew behind the husband's back

- She briefly discusses the lifestyle at her childhood home. She notes that she had passed her primary leaving exams, but could only study further for two years at a nearby school, because she was a Tutsi.

- After that, she taught, then knitted for a living. Back then before 1994, the only careers for educated Tutsis were in teaching; i.e. discrimination was very rampant.

- Flashback: conditions had always been tough. In the early 60s, war had broken out, and a small group of people (her among them) had been attacked in the Sanza area. They had tried defending themselves, then had ran and hid in the nearby bushes.

- Teachers had been beaten, property looted.

- Some moderate Hutus had hidden their stuff for them, then returned it later. Houses had been burnt down.

- In ’73, young men had been drowned in the river

- Even women with baby boys had been targeted.

- Discrimination against Tutsis was severe into the 90s. They only job for them was teaching. It was impossible to join the army or police unless with a fake ID.

- The only hope was to go to school in exile, especially in Uganda.

    - There was no admittance to high school, even with good grades.

- Her husband had been attacked in ’73 with a nail-laced club, died in ’78 from complications

- Flash-forward to 1994; actual duration of the genocide: In Nyamirambo where she lived, it was terrible. People would always point and shout, “That’s an inyenzi (cockroach)!”

- Even the Belgian and French “peacekeepers” would be at roadblocks asking for IDs

- Flashback: in multiparty era, the situation was bad. Her brother was arrested, accused of being a spy.

- She bailed him out of jail with the help of some Hutu friends for RwF 200,000

- Before the genocide, (i.e. shortly before) in Nyamirambo in ’94, things were terrible. Beatings, harassment, loss of personal property, etc. At the start of the genocide, many people had already taken shelter in priests’ houses.

- Another flashback: back in ’59, then-President’s Kayibanda’s soldiers had come to her village and rounded up all the literate people in the neighborhood, including the father of the man who would later become president (after the ’94 genocide), Pasteur Bizimungu. He had worked as a sous-chef. They had smeared him with mud (to humiliate him), and they had shot them all to death, apart from a handful they had released because they respected them. They called the victims roaches (*inyenzi*).

- Priests and other religious officials were involved in the genocide, and Tutsis did not trust them. The clergy in charge of schools even had a tendency to beat up kids for no reason, just so the kids would fail in school.

>>> Sub-title: Start of 1994 Genocide <<<
>>Nyamirambo

- She was taking care of kids whose dad was Hutu. Kids used to say, “Don’t worry, we’ll avenge you if they try to kill you.”

- The father [??] / relative of the kids would come and try to kill the kids, but Immaculee would forcefully speak up to protest and say, “They are your own blood!”

- A houseboy (servant) of hers used to bring her orphaned kids so she can take care of them

- The Hutu relative had promised to kill her on the 5th (month?), but got killed himself on that date.

- As the killing progressed, she had lost hope and had at 1 point gone to ask the soldiers to shoot her [doesn’t finish this mini story]

- She knew the people who were doing the killings; but, some were from Burundi.

- She shows some pictures of her murdered relatives. She reveals that the Member of Parliament who decapitated her mum wanted the title of their land/house.

- The worst day of the genocide was after June 16th, when the mothers of two babies (3 months and 5 months, consecutively) were killed and she had to look after them.

- The babies cried day and night. She’ll never forget that/those moments.

- Day of liberation: She was hiding in her small stand-alone kitchen coz the house had no roof. She heard the militias running away, yelling “inyenzi are coming.”

- The RPF came and rescued her and her adopted kids.

- Sebucocero (a militia leader) had promised to kill her on the 5th of July. They had dug pits nearby and were going to throw them inside. But they were waiting to kill them, saying they wanted to see how long a Tutsi person old or very young could survive without food and water.

- She took care of 11 children (at one point even 13). Things were hard via welfare, but at the worst juncture, she had gone to the minister to request assistance and the minister gave it to her. All the kids are grown now; educated, married, etc.

- “Nobody is crying anymore.”

- She says justice hasn’t been done. One Kassim admitted his crimes (murders) and was forgiven and is free. Burakari Claude (who used to be a doctor) escaped, got a job in another district and stays there to avoid seeing Immaculee.

- She says she has reconciled with other killers as well, and is willing to forgive. Killing more people doesn't bring back the dead.

III. Arsene Nsabimana

General Impressions:

- **He is perhaps the youngest interviewee in this set along with Daniel Ndamwizeye**
- **What is most striking about him is the fact that he says he tries really hard to forget facts—names, visual images, etc.—about his siblings and parents as a way to cope with his trauma from the genocide.**
- **It is also striking the way his family's socio-economic status is evident from his testimony—both in Africa and in Canada (i.e. boarding school, etc.)**

- Has been living in Calgary (Edmonton), Canada, but just moved to Michigan

- Remembers the start of the genocide from the killing of Habyarimana (via his plane's crashing). Militias came to their house and interrogated his father.

- Lined up all siblings parents and shot them. He got shot too, passed out. Woke up buried under his siblings and parents' bodies. He had a (gun-shot [?]) wound on his back. Went to the neighbors' house, Hutus but good friends of the father.

- They hid him for a week, then told him to leave, as the militias who used to visit were starting to get suspicious.

- Arsene went to his school, which was a church-affiliated school. Stayed with nuns for one night.

- Aunt took him in. He was traumatized and couldn't speak.

- Him and his uncle Eric moved around the country—always at night.

- He tries very hard to forget all the details of his life in Rwanda—names of siblings, places, etc.

- Returned to Kigali after the end of the war.

- Aunt and uncles were looking for him. Uncles from Canada and America.

- First stayed in Kigali with uncle, then moved to America with uncle.

- '98: Learned English in America.

- Recap: Interviewer asks question about parents' death; his answer: Woke up after night of attack with everyone dead. Parents shot, brother's guts out and leg chopped off.

- Recap: Interviewer asks him about how aunt helped him; his answer: They'd move with her with UN's help to safer parts of the country

- He never felt safe during the genocide, even after the genocide. Felt safe after leaving Rwanda. His aunt Bernadette used to try to make them feel safe.

- He reflects on why the Intarahamwe did what they did. Anger after the president's death, they first attacked the most powerful/well-known Tutsis, then moved on to others. "Wanted to wipe out all Tutsis."

- Memories of other family members before and during the genocide; uncle's family had been killed, he'd survived "just [by] chance."

- Feeling that the genocide was over was after the roads had been cleared of roadblocks and corpses.

- After genocide, he could play and socialize with his cousin—same age as him, went to the same school. That helped him loosen up.

- Memories of dad and mum

- Family sounds rich. Dad was the head of the national electric utility company

[note by Seif: this makes sense, considering his earlier statement that the militias were first targeting well-known Tutsis before moving on to the ordinary people.]

- Recap of events of night of attack: Got shot in the back and had a cut on the stomach.

- Came to the US with uncle, joined middle school. Moved to Niles, Michigan in 9th grade. But they'd originally arrived to another area of Michigan.

- Uncle placed him in a boarding school in Canada when he had to move to Kenya for a job.

- In '07, he got the courage to visit Africa. Went to Rwanda for the first time after staying away for more than 10 years.

- Was a psychology major, then dropped out for a bit. Now doing Computer Science.

- Current overall feelings about the genocide: it was unnecessary.

- Back in the day, divisions between Tutsi and Hutu were sharp

- Hutu/Tutsi relations after the genocide—before his move to the US, were very bitter.

- Dealing with emotions in the aftermath of the genocide: it was hard at first, coz he didn't even consider aunt and uncle as parents. Eventually he opened up, first to close friends.

- "We need to stop fighting with each other. We're human. We all have feelings."

IV. Esperance Kaligirwa

General Impressions:

- **Her disposition is very sunny, outgoing. Very chit-chatty.**
- **Her family's profile—similar to Arsene Nsabimana's above, is also one of a rich family that was an obvious target during the genocide. Her statement about feeling guilty because of growing up in a well-to-do family among poor folk, is similar to a sentiment I've felt before myself.**
- **The harrowing feature of this story is her description of the hopelessness of waiting for death; soldiers/militias coming to either kill or loot; her sister's supposed rape; being taken for slaughter by the militia (looking for a pit to throw them in) etc.**
- **BUT, the story is also a good study in contrasts in the way her family was treated by neighbors and others who knew them and were repaying them for her father's kindness. The same people who would go and kill other Tutsis.**
- **Her story is also dramatic and makes for a good novel drama, with a few plot-twists here and there—similar in that regard to Freddy Mutanguha's.**
- **PLEASE NOTE: For the purposes of this study, her testimony is priceless**

- 5 siblings left; 4 were killed.
- She's 37, born in Butare
- Siblings are in the US and Kigali
- Dad was a businessman and mum a homemaker.
- Family was rich/upper-middle class
- Had a very happy childhood
- Extended family was nearby
- They had lived in Butare when she was younger, then moved to Kigali later while she was in elementary school.
- Felt guilty being rich among poor people
- For instance, they were the only kids in school with shoes, and sometimes they'd take them off so they could be like everyone else.

- Tutsis were made to stand up in class, and her and her siblings would be the only ones (Tutsis) among all the kids in class. Her teacher was mean to her, used to call her out for being a Tutsi.

- Catholic upbringing—staunch. Church, rosary, singing (hymns), etc.

- First realized they were Tutsis when their dad's car was stopped and the officers asked for bribes.

- Parts of Nyamirambo—the neighborhood where they lived—were predominantly Tutsi, but their own part was integrated.

- Many of their neighbors in Nyamirambo were Muslims.

- Dad died of cancer in 1993. Tried to go to Nairobi for treatment, but he didn't get better and died in Kigali.

- Oct 1990; "Inkotanyi" (RPF rebels) attacked Rwanda. Before then, she had never heard that name.

- Her memory of that event:

    - They had always known their lives were in danger. But,
    - When the RPF attacked, militias went to Tutsis' houses rounding up all who had passports. Her sister was among those arrested—she had just returned from vacation in Belgium.

- RTLM radio was a big cause/catalyst of the killings.

- Upon Rwigyema's death, government forced students to go and celebrate [by symbolically having mock-funerals for him]

- Upon RPF attack, Hutu/Tutsi relations became very bitter. Tutsis students had no more Hutu friends; even teachers were against Tutsi students, failing their exams just because they were Tutsi.

- Had to switch schools because of discrimination; it was tough. On the first day in her new school, she was insulted. And at night, she'd be called names and harassed (roaches, snakes, go back to Ethiopia, we're going to kill you, etc.).

- The rest of the country was also in turmoil. Grenades were being thrown at people.

- Life in Nyanza via academics was better coz it was a private school, and there were a good number of Tutsis so had friends.

- One particularly rough incident was her and her sister being beaten by soldiers who stopped them on their way home from the library at night.
- That was in ’93 before the death of their dad.
- Habyarimana’s death was breaking news on the radio. They then had no doubt that they were going to be killed.
- Her sister called them after Habyarimana’s plane was shot down, saying her husband’s friend had been killed. So they realized that the killings had began.
- They were waiting to get killed
- A week later, the utilities stopped working.
- No food, no water, couldn’t leave house.
- For one week, no one came to bother them. But they didn’t have food. Good Samaritans would bring food. Parents and older siblings would starve and let the younger kids eat.
- After 2 weeks, soldiers came “searching for a woman who was hiding” in their house.
- They took one of their cars.
- After one week, they came back, took another car.
- They kept coming and taking things, till there was nothing left to take. They then threatened to rape the women.
- At 1 point, they took her sister for a week. Esperance and others didn’t ask what they did to her.
- There were a total of 13 people in the house. Siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.
- Hutu friends would bring provisions coz dad had been kind to people. But, those good Samaritans would then go and kill other Tutsis.
- Militias came on June 11th to kill brother, couldn’t find him so they took them. Were looking for a pit to bury them in but couldn’t find one in the neighborhood, coz they (the militias) weren’t locals and thus did not know the area.
- Esperance and her family were about to be killed, but a group of Hutus came and pleaded for mercy on their behalf
- Eventually that day, the militias relented but promised to come back.

- The next day, a grenade was thrown at their house, but luckily, no one was hurt, just 1 of the family dogs.

- UN vehicles would pass by but never helped

- At some point, a Hutu distant relative came and took cousins but left Esperance and others

[Note by Seif: I'm not sure what I meant here; did the relative take the cousins to be killed, or to rescue them?]

- A couple of days later, Intarahamwe militia came, and Esperance and some siblings and their mum hid in one room, and others went elsewhere in the house. They locked the door. The Interahamwe came and tried to open it in vain. Esperance heard one of their neighbors say, never mind, this door is locked. Apparently, he'd seen them go in and was trying to protect them.

- Esperance heard one of the Interahamwe say, "Why have you stayed alive this long?" and took 5 relatives—siblings and others. That was on June 11th.

- Esperance and others stayed in that room for that night.

- The neighbor who had rescued them found them a place to hide. Esperance and the mum stayed together, and 2 of her brothers went to hide in an orphanage. 1 brother went with another family member—he was eight years old at the time.

- The man taking care of Esperance and her mum was Interahamwe. He'd spend the day away from home—probably on killing sprees—then would come home at night. Took good care of them, said "Your dad was a good man."

- Later, Esperance moved into a family friend's house, but mum stayed at the Interahamwe man's house.

- A couple of weeks later, the RPF took over Kigali.

- They were told to go to St. Andrew's (a church [?]), met her mum there, had a happy reunion.

- Brothers also reunited with her and mum. Mum had actually been walking towards Congo refugee camp with Interahamwe man's family, but got tired and decided to return to Kigali.

- Brother wore a dress so as to survive, as boys would be killed first. His face looked like a girl's face.

- After the genocide, Esperance was traumatized for the 1st three years—didn't want to stay in Rwanda.

- Recap of emotions during near-death experience: “You’re just numb…you just say, ‘just kill me.’ ”
- Did not try to change her identity (as a Tutsi)
- Recap; reaction upon seeing mum: Hugging, laughing, crying, joking (“you stink!”)
- Their house was looted, but apart from the grenade damage (minor), the structure was intact. Mum rents out that house for money. They had/have 2 or 3 houses.
- Feeling of safety/relief was after leaving the St. Andrew camp, back at their house.
- Family reunion after genocide.
- She didn’t like that question, “How did you survive?”
    - “After a while, I said, I’m not gonna answer that question anymore.”
    - “Because of the grace of God, there’s no other way I can explain that!”
- Family helped relatives from Burundi who were homeless; these were paternal relatives—mum lost all relatives in the genocide
- After 3 months, she went to school in Ruhengeri; rebels from Congo would try to come and start a rebellion. After that one such incident, she left the Ruhengeri school, went back to Kigali at the end of ’96.
- Sister living in the US had come 2 weeks after the genocide. Esperance then got visa and joined the sister.
- Adjustment in the US was hard at first; “I used to cry every night.” She then decided to move on
- Effects of genocide on her views/feelings towards Hutus: she at first didn’t want to relate to them, then decided to just move on
- The sad thing is, “they don’t apologize for [the] genocide.”
- “I have to let it go so I can live
    - …through prayer…”
- Also through giving resources to kids that are orphaned

- "I can't complain…there's no reason to complain."
- Description of healing process
    - "It's a long process…ongoing."
    - "At least I have my mum…"
    - "Sometimes you say 'what is life?'…you wake up [hopeless]"
- You have to push yourself. Survivors back home sometimes drink.
- "You have to look for inspiration."
- Every time they where you're from, you say Rwanda, then you have to explain.
- But, genocide also helps you say, "I went through genocide, there's nothing I can't pass…this is nothing…I can do it."
- "What also gives me strength is [when] you find other survivors, so you can talk about it, your childhood, good memories. Found survivors in Indiana.
- Did social work at Indiana U. South Bend, wants to to back for Masters
- "Every time they say never again [but] you hear Darfur…"
- "To prevent it [in the future], we survivors have to keep talking about it. It's been 15 years…even in Rwanda, they don't talk about it enough
- Got to tell kids
- She tells her nieces ***not*** to hate, but that it happened.
- "We have to keep talking about it."
- Her mum was afraid of testifying in the Gacaca courts, in case of future retribution. But in any case, she didn't witness anything directly.
- This archive is the first time she is talking about it, had refused to talk about it.
- When bad memories come back, "I tell myself…people are in [a] good place, they're looking down on us….I call my mother, I talk to my sister…"
- "It [talking to them] helps me a lot."

V. Daniel Ndamwizeye

General Impressions:

- **By far for sure, Daniel's testimony is the saddest out of all the ones in this set**
- **What's striking about it is the fact that his worst suffering was not during the genocide itself but after it, while in the care of relatives as an orphaned child**
- **He went through A LOT**
- **However, he has persevered well through it**
- **His testimony is also mysterious in many ways:**
    - **For one, it's obvious he went through numerous other traumas that he doesn't mention**
    - **It's also interesting the way he looks at his identity—staunchly American, NOT Rwandan anymore**
        - **But it's not just his own framing. After all, he was uprooted from Rwanda in his pre-teen years, and had suffered so much while there**

- Doesn't know birthday, and not sure where he was born in Rwanda—probably Gisenyi
    - He thought he'd been born in Kibuye, but his sisters told him it's not true
- Dad was a beer trader (or manufacturer [?]) and mum was a home-maker
- Was 5 when the genocide happened
- Parents died in the genocide and he lost 2 or 3 (?) siblings
- Remembers mum being killed in his presence
- Remembers being abused physically, mentally, etc.
- Was a loner at school
    - Had been traumatized seeing mum killed
- Left Rwanda at the age of 11
- Tutsi/Hutu thing wasn't broached [prior to the genocide (?)]
- Dad was Hutu and mum was Tutsi
- Mum and dad were 7th Day Adventist and mum was killed at church
- Daniel was exposed to different religions growing up
- Interviewer: (Statement not question [?])7th Day Adventists were common in Gisenyi

- Daniel says churches betrayed their believers
- Remembers a neighbor—a woman—was who was involved in the killings of his parents
- When the war started, the family gathered in the living room
- Dad told mum and 3 siblings (along with 5-yr old Daniel) to go to church
- Daniel remembers the Interahamwe coming and torturing and killing mum in front of him
- After his mum was killed, one of the Interahamwe—a family friend—saved Daniel
- After a few days, that guy sent Daniel to the Congo on the back of a truck to stay with an uncle of his
- Gisenyi is close to the Congo—about 20 minutes away
- Silence in response to what he was thinking while witnessing mum killed.
- Was in the town of Goma in Congo—his family had contacts there and some of them had moved there (siblings, uncles, etc.)
- After the war, the family returned to Rwanda
- Life in Gisenyi (on returning from the Congo) was very tough
- Family he was with (esp. the woman) was very abusive
- But he says he has forgiven them for what they did to him
- There are many stories as to how his dad and other siblings actually died
- His remaining siblings don't want to talk about that stuff coz they're still traumatized
- [While growing up in Rwanda and elsewhere (?)] Used to go to 7th Day Adventist church, but also started going to Catholic Church.
- Life at "John" and "Jessica's" house was tough (not their real names, doesn't want to embarrass them)
- He would wake up early on school days, work, shower with cold water [editorial note by Seif: Rwanda has a very high altitude overall and is very hilly, so it gets cold at night, and in the mornings and evenings], then go to school
- Used to live outside of the main house (near servants' quarters)

- School was very far—a 45 min. walk
- Walk back for lunch—45 mins—then back to school in the afternoon
- Come back home, do chores, then try to do homework
- But would be exhausted from chores and the day's events, thus couldn't do homework
- Was always near last in class
- Guardians never really helped with schoolwork, were very rough on him
- Always beating him for frivolous reasons
- The couple had their own kids whom they wouldn't mistreat
- Also, John tried to be loving towards Daniel, but Jessica was jealous about that and didn't like him (Daniel)
- He had a good relationship with the guardians' kids
- Teachers would also beat kids

(note by Seif: Please note that I'm not contesting Daniel's account, but corporal punishment is par the course of many schools in Africa)

- One of the teachers—Josephine—had an after-school program that helped a bit. But because home life was tough, academics and other aspects of life were not good in general.
- In 2001, Evelyn's (his sister) husband took him away from the guardians—Evelyn and the husband had known for a while about his dire situation there
- His "prayers had been answered…"

>>> **He cries at this point; pauses.** <<<

- He went with Francis to Lusaka, Zambia. They entered the country as UNHCR-protected refugees. He learned English there.
- Soon thereafter, Francis' visa to the USA was approved, and he left Daniel in Lusaka.
- Daniel then had to stay with Francis' friends—he was 11 years old
- Went through the UNHCR process

[note by Seif—unclear meaning here, not sure what he/I meant]

- Had to go live with another family [Francis' friends moved too (?)]
- Had to learn the Lingala language so as to communicate with that family (the timeframe/age here is his mid to late teen era)
- ***Again,*** was left without a family after those folks left.
- Luckily, he'd made some connections at his church, so the pastor's family took him in
- Finally; in 2005, the UNHCR approved his move to the US to join his sister
- Was 15 upon arrival here.
- Met up with Evelyn (sister) and her husband (Francis) again in Connecticut
- In the US, went to school in the 9th grade. Had stopped in 6th grade in Rwanda, had skipped 2 years of school in Zambia—no English proficiency, then did 1 year of school there.
- Here in the US, did very well in school—it had been rough at first but he quickly got used to it
- Actually excelled in school via both academics and extra-curricular activities
    - Played volleyball; was captain, MVP
    - Ran cross-country
    - Did bowling
- Was finally living a good life
- Was highly involved in school community
    - Student government, clubs, etc.
- Thus in retrospect, 2005 was his turning point
- He was in high school from '05 to '08 [(??) or is it '07?]
- But, was still a loner in high school, didn't have deep friendships with people. Doesn't trust people.
- After high school, wanted to go to Temple U. on a volleyball scholarship. For some reason, didn't get in.

- Applied to U. Conn, got admitted to a far campus—thus didn't go there (U. Conn.) either
- Instead, went to Southern Conn. U. on scholarships—hasn't incurred any tuition bills/debt, only took out one loan for a study abroad trip to Paris. Also went to Belgium
- Works for TD Bank [part-time]
- (As of '10) about to get a promotion
- Majoring in Finance, supposed to graduate in '13
- Also does motivational speaking
- Reflections on Tutsi/Hutu relations:
    - Doesn't understand how people can kill each other because of artificial labels
- Just got his US citizenship, so is now officially a Rwandan-American citizen

[Note by Seif: He's very proud of this fact, and eschews or doesn't care about Rwandan politics/current affairs]

- Dad got killed because he was married to a Tutsi woman and refused to kill his own family
- Aspirations: Wants to do motivational lectures
    - "As Americans, we whine a lot…"
- Wants to build orphanage
- Wants to inspire kids
- Just started a nonprofit to help people around the world
    - Visiting Haiti next summer
    - Wants to visit orphanages around the world
- Wants to write books

>>> Bombshell revelation at 01:08:54—says it very quickly and nonchalantly <<<
>> "Having sex for money…" <<

- Strength to keep going: it's a "gift from God…"
- "I should be feeling sorry for myself, but I do not."

- The "experiences are part of me…"
    - Lost parents, etc., "so what?"
    - "[I try to] focus on things I can control…"
    - "I'm not very religious…but I know there's somebody who guides me."
- Message for the world:
    - "People will learn what they will learn."
    - "People will get different things from it."
    - "We need to educate ourselves…learn about different things."
    - "I just want people to learn the story."
- He says he has also shared his testimony at U. Conn., TD Bank, Guilford Community Center, and he goes to high schools in Connecticut, colleges, & there might be a school in North Caroline where he'll go to share the story (this was as of taping the interview in '10)
- Sharing his story is therapy
- Went to therapy only once, for an issue he is not ready to mention yet
- Recap: Has he kept in touch with "John" and "Jessica"?
    - Yes. They are in denial, they think they raised him well.
    - He hasn't talked to them yet about what they did to him

[i.e. confronting them]

- Hasn't made peace with them yet

[Note: this somewhat contradicts what he said earlier about forgiving them…]

- He sometimes gets together with his sister in Connecticut and her family
- Elevani (his other sister) is in California, so they don't get to see her often.
- His sentiments about unity and reconciliation in Rwanda:
    - He doesn't follow Rwandan politics

- "It's good they're doing that."

VI. Sara Bampiriye
(Please Note: This interview was conducted in Kinyarwanda, with English subtitles)

General Impressions:

- **Sara's general posture is one of combativeness and anger**
- **Her story-arc is also the least coherent of all the ones in this set**
- **We might attribute that fact (incoherent nature of the story) to (among other reasons):**
  - **The sense of chaos that for her marks the very violent, turbulent, and traumatic arc of the events of the genocide,**
  - **And her anger and incredulousness while talking about what happened**
- **But of course, the fact that this interview was conducted in Kinyarwanda has some serious implications vis-à-vis the idea of coherence—i.e., trying to make sense of the experiences of a traumatized victim of the genocide, who is trying to express—as best she can in her own language—the pain she went through.**
  - **Then getting a (written) translation of those experiences in English, while trying to translate them myself into my own text.**
  - **I believe there might be a clash of paradigms here, to be sure.**

- Born in '73 in Rusatira, Butare
- At the time of the genocide, she was married in Kigali
- She hailed from a family of 9 children total.
  - Had 3 older sisters—only 1 is alive today
  - And had 4 brothers—only 1 is alive today
- Her siblings lost very many kids—many of her siblings were killed with all of their children
- Sara survived with 2 kids—her husband was killed
- Not all siblings died due to the genocide—some had died before
- General day-to-day life had been good in her childhood
- There had been no ethnic strife
- During her teenage years, [?] went to Butare with an older lady—an aunt
- Then went back to her village
- Went to Kigali in 1990

- Her niece and nephews weren't able to go to high school, even with good grades
- They got other semi-formal jobs
- Lost her nephew before the war. The rumor was that he was poisoned
- Sara got married after moving to Kigali
- In 1990 shortly after her marriage, she and her husband heard gunshots
- She was scared, but her husband told her to stay
- There were various arrests and accusations of spying
- A multiparty system was instituted in the country
- After 1990, the political environment deteriorated.
- In 1993 she (and her husband) moved [to where?]

[Note by Seif: I didn't write this in my handwritten notes. But from my recollection, I believe they moved to a new neighborhood within Kigali—but which one?]

- Death of Habyarimana in 1994:
    - Curfew, looting, Interahamwe marauders
- Houses were burnt down
- Killings started with machetes
- Interahamwe neighbors came to their place—well armed, and dressed in army uniforms
- A neighbor was arrested, a tailor
- In that particular night, 52 Tutsis were killed and buried in a nearby pit
- Her and her husband took refuge in a building before moving to a church—they stayed there for a week
- She had a toddler who enjoyed walking outside, but she was always scared for his safety, as grenades were constantly thrown into the compound

>>> Note: after that reference 1 line above about her husband, she doesn't talk about him anymore—presumably got killed shortly thereafter <<<

- She was able to sneak into a church compound for safety, with the help of a friend and some bribe-money that had been collected by fellow refuge-seekers
- People would be collected from the church compound to be taken for slaughter
- The food was bad, there was lice disease
- Kids were sleeping outside with machete wounds, hungry, etc.
- Militias would tell the refugees to bury the kids after their deaths. Eventually people refused and the bodies would rote in the open
- She had two kids with her
- Somehow they didn't starve, just persevered
- One specific incident she recalls: RPF liberated nearby church, but theirs was still under Interahamwe guard. Husbands and brothers left to join the RPF. 185 people were massacred in that incident—shot in the compound of the church.
- She says she saw a lot of horrible stuff after those killings, esp. rotting bodies
- She has tried to testify in the Gacaca courts, but the defense side always attacks her
- After the massacre—days later, whites—perhaps from the Red Cross—came to try to do a body count, but the militias had thrown away the bodies
    - The whites took their count, but it was inaccurate—based on floor markings, yet sometimes bodies had been piled on each other only leaving one body mark
- She says people haven't been help accountable for that incident. She tried in vain.
- She briefly discusses her recollection of the day of liberation, on 4th July…
- Father Munyeshyaka of St. Famille church is evil. But today, he's free.
- Some refugees were collaborators with the Interahamwe
- She's angry at the "so-called" genocide survivors who defend killers
- She wants the interviewers to go interview other survivors to get their stories too
- That priest (?Munyeshyaka?) used to openly carry around a gun and betrayed his fellow priest
- She says Gacaca was better than nothing, it helped provide some justice.

2. **Video Narrative Transcript Sheet**
For Esperance Kaligirwa

Notes to Reader:

1) **The use of italics within sheet is mainly for two roles:**

a) To pithily denote what's going on (in the video) without summarizing it in full (e.g. "*Interviewer asks, and she obliges in saying all the names and current ages or ages at the time of death of all siblings***," or "***Continuation/completion of above answer***.")**

b) Within a question or an answer, to denote direct quotes. Some quote-like Q & As are not in italics, because they are not verbatim or have been edited by this author/transcriber.

2) **Highlights:**

a) Red: To mark Labovian narratives & labels/names

b) Yellow: Editorial Note

Segment: 1
Time: 00—01:09
Topics: Interviewer's intro
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 0/ N/A

Interviewer states date and location, interviewee's name.

Segment: 2
Time: 01:09—02:00
Topics: Names, Place of Birth, Age
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 0 / N/A

Qn.: Could you please tell us your name and spell your last name?

Ans.:

Esperance, Kaligirwa. K-A-L-I-G-I-R-W-A

Qn.: How old are you, where were you born?

Ans.:

Just turned 37, was born in Butare 1973

Qn.: In which province and district?

Ans.:

Butare/Southern Province/District

Qn.: Commune, [unclear], and sector?

Ans.:

Shyanda, Zivu, Buremera

Segment: 3
Time: 02:00—03:00
Topics: Parents and siblings
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Interviewer asks, and she obliges in saying all the names and current ages or ages at the time of death of all siblings.

Segment: 4
Time: 03:00—04:00
Topics: Parents and siblings
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Interviewer asks, and she obliges in saying all the names and current ages or ages at the time of death of all siblings.

Segment: 5
Time: 04:00—05:00
Topics: Parents and siblings
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Interviewer asks, and she obliges in saying all the names and current ages or ages at the time of death of all siblings.

Segment: 6
Time: 05:00—06:00
Topics: Parents' careers, family life
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: What were your parents' occupations?

Ans.: Dad was a businessman and mum a homemaker.

Qn.: Tell me about your childhood…to the best of your memory, how was it like growing up; how was your home…as much as you can remember

Ans.:

1. Had a very happy childhood

2. Extended family was nearby

3. They had lived in Butare when she was younger, then moved to Kigali later while she was in elementary school.

Segment: 7
Time: 06:00—7:00
Topics: Family life
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives:

Qn.: Interviewer asks about the house

Ans.: …huge house; we were nine kids…6 bedrooms…and they had other houses/apartments in the back of the compound that they rented those out

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Segment: 8
Time: 07:00—08:00
Topics: Family life cont'd; places family lived in
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Segment: 9
Time: 08:00—9:00
Topics: Family (grandparents); family life
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: Interviewer asks her grandparents' names back in Shyanda where the family first lived

Ans.:

Faustin Mbanda - grandfathers, paternal
Pascazia Mbanda - grandmothers, paternal
Suzanne - grandmothers, maternal

Also had an uncle there called Dominique

Qn.: Any grandparents on your mum's side?

Ans.: She says their maternal grandparents were alive but lived far from them.

Qn.: How often did you visit them?

Ans.: Around 3 times a year

Segment: 10
Time: 9:00—10:00
Topics: Family life cont'd; socioeconomic status
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: Names of maternal grandparents?

Ans.:

Evarist Semayumba - grandfathers, maternal
Fidele Urayaha - fathers
Suzanne - grandmothers, maternal

Qn.: What are some of your memories from your time in Butare before moving to Kigali?

Ans.:

Not much…she was 11. Used to look forward to dad's return on the weekend.

It was a small village but we had the nicest house in the village so we used to have everything…

Segment: 11
Time: 10:00—11:00
Topics: School
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: Do you remember some of the neighbors?

Ans.:

No; some of the neighbors were grandparents, but she doesn't recall the names of other neighbors

Qn.: Did you go to school while there?

Ans.:

Yes, elementary school, *until like fourth grade*

Qn.: Where did you go to school?

Ans.:

It was called Zivu Primary School.

Segment: 12
Time: 11:00—12:00
Topics: School continued
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Continuation/completion of above answer

Labovian Narrative:

1. Felt guilty being rich among poor people

2. For instance, they were the only kids in school with shoes, and sometimes they'd take them off so they could be like everyone else.

Qn.: Which years were these—when you went to Zivu?

Ans.:

Between 1980 to 84

Segment: 13
Time: 12:00—13:00
Topics: School; early discrimination
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1/2

Qn.: What do you remember at Zivu as a kid…like the teachers…?

Ans.:

Labovian Narrative(s) (Summary):

1. Tutsis were made to stand up in class, and her and her siblings would be the only ones (Tutsis) among all the kids in class.
2. Her teacher was mean to her, used to call her out for being a Tutsi.

Segment: 14
Time: 13:00—14:00
Topics: School; early discrimination continued
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½ or 0

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: How would you deal with that?

Labovian Narrative (Summary)—Continued from above segment:

3. We'd tell our parents
4. But they were staunch Christians, they'd say: don't worry about it
5. Our home was a happy family…it was okay

Segment: 15
Time: 14:00—15:00
Topics: Christian identity; religious observances; Roman Catholic Church; Dates 1973 (July 5) - 1990 (September 30)
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: What was your religious affiliation?

Ans.:

Very Catholic…

Catholic upbringing—staunch. Church, rosary, singing (hymns), etc.

Qn.: Which church did you go to while in Butare…the name?

Ans.:

I think Buremera… It was a small church. The parish headquarter would send a priest once a month. Otherwise, mass was led by a catechist.

Segment: 16
Time: 15:00—16:00

Topics: Religiosity continued
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: Did you experience discrimination also at church like at school?

Ans.: No

Segment: 17
Time: 16:00—17:00
Topics: Family and education; discrimination
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: Were there instances when you were denied anything because of your ethnicity?

Ans.:

Not me personally, but my brother… She goes on to report that the system entailed taking a national primary school exit exam, which determined whether you'd go to a state high school. But her brother was denied admission even though he'd performed well.

Segment: 18
Time: 17:00—18:00
Topics: Discrimination; police/state corruption
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Qn.: When did you first learn of your identity as a Tutsi?

Ans.:

In their home, thanks to their father's strict Christian identity, talk of ethnicity was absent.

Labovian Narrative (Summary):

First realized they were Tutsis when their dad's car was stopped and the officers asked for a bribe.

Segment: 19
Time: 18:00—19:00
Topics: Discrimination; police/state corruption continued
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Continuation/completion of above answer

Labovian Narrative (Summary)—Continued from above segment:

First realized they were Tutsis when their dad's car was stopped and the officers asked for a bribe.

Qn.: And what feelings did that arouse in you?

Ans.:

Is something wrong with me? Sometimes I would wish I was Hutu…its very…you don't know what to think…why me? Why am I being treated differently? Sometimes you feel lonely.

Segment: 20
Time: 19:00—20:00
Topics: Kigali; family
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: What part of Kigali did you live in?

Ans.:

Nyamirambo

Qn.: *How was the neighborhood in Nyamirambo; was it segregated, was it the same…or…how was it*?

Ans.:

Many parts of Nyamirambo were predominantly Tutsi, but their own part was integrated.

Segment: 21
Time: 20:00—21:00
Topics: Neighbors; identity—i.e. religious identity
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: *Do you remember some of your neighbors' names?*

Ans.:

Yes…Haruna and Shaban …

Many of their neighbors in Nyamirambo were Muslims.

Manase…Edith

Qn.: Did you ever get together with your neighbors?

Ans.:

Yes, they used to play as kids

Qn.: What games did you play?

Ans.:

She doesn't remember the names, but one of them is similar to baseball

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Segment: 22
Time: 21:00—22:00
Topics: Father's death;
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Qn.: What caused your dad's death?

Ans.:

Labovian Narrative (Summary):

He had cancer…pancreatic cancer…He died very young—58… Had a long illness, suffered a lot

Tried to go to Nairobi for treatment, but he didn't get better and died in a hospital in Butare in 1993 in August.

Segment: 23
Time: 22:00—23:00
Topics: The RPF rebels from Uganda
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Qn.: In 1990 had you heard of the name *Inkontanyi*?

Ans.:

Labovian Narrative (Summary):

Not before 1990. They attacked in October 1990. Before then, she had never heard that name.

Her father was afraid of politics, had lived through 1959 and other pogroms but was afraid to talk about it. Then…

They attacked in 1990, and Esperance and others heard on the radio about it. They learned that the rebels were refugees in exile who wanted to come back home.

Segment: 24
Time: 23:00—24:00
Topics: The RPF rebels from Uganda continued/concluded; political affiliations
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Labovian Narrative (Summary)—same as above/concluded in this segment:

Not before 1990. They attacked in October 1990. Before then, she had never heard that name.

Her father was afraid of politics, had lived through 1959 and other pogroms but was afraid to talk about it. Then…

They attacked in 1990, and Esperance and others heard on the radio about it. They learned that the rebels were refugees in exile who wanted to come back home.

Qn.: Were any of your family members part of any political parties in Rwanda?

Ans.:

No, none.

Segment: 25
Time: 24:00—25:00
Topics: Political affiliations concluded; RPF attack continued
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Qn.: *So in 1990 the RPF attacks; what did that mean to you?*

Ans.:

We had a nice life before. Now (after the attacks) *we knew that they were going to kill us…that trouble would come somehow*.

Segment: 26
Time: 25:00—26:00
Topics: RPF attack continued; aftermath and precursor era to the genocide
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Continuation/completion of above answer

Labovian Narrative (Summary):

When they attacked, her sister Beatrice—who'd gone to Belgium for a vacation a couple of years back, was arrested. All Tutsis with passports after the RPF attack were being arrested. Their father had to bribe officials ("a lot of money") to get her out.

Segment: 27
Time: 26:00—27:00
Topics: XX
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: Which jail was she taken to?

Ans.:

A big stadium in Nyamirambo were all the Tutsi prisoners [in that round-up] had been taken.

Qn.: So this was where they took all the prisoners from the round-up; and this was after the RPF had attacked?

Ans.:

Yes.

Segment: 28
Time: 27:00—28:00
Topics: Radio; political-ideological awakening
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Qn.: How did even learn of the RPF [attack] did you listen to radio…?

Ans.:

Yes, they used to listen to radio often; they'd play good music

Qn.: Then, the radio said why the rebels attacked the country

Ans.:

Esperance and her family then understood that the rebels were "on our side."

So they'd look forward to listening to the radio every evening.

Segment: 29
Time: 28:00—29:00

Topics: Radio cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: Which radio would you listen to?

Ans.:
[Unclear; most likely the one national radio at the time; *Muhabura*]

Qn.: Had you ever heard of RTLM radio?

Ans.:
Yes; RTLM radio was a big cause/catalyst of the killings. They used to say, "Tutsi are cockroaches…look for them [and kill them]…Hutu women—you're also beautiful…"

Segment: 30
Time: 29:00—30:00
Topics: Timeline/era (shortly before start of genocide)
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: In which school were you at the time?

Ans.:
St. Andre in Nyamirambo.

Qn.: You were there in which years?

Ans.:
1990—1993

Qn.: Did the turmoil (aftermath of rebel attack) affect the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations?

Ans.:
Yes.

Segment: 31
Time: 30:00—31:00
Topics: Inter-ethnic relations
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or 1 and ½

Continuation/completion of above answer

Labovian Narrative (Summary):

Upon Rwigyema's death, government forced students to go and celebrate [by symbolically having mock-funerals for him]

Segment: 32
Time: 31:00—32:00
Topics: Inter-ethnic relations cont'd; aftermath of RPF attack in 1990
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Continuation/completion of above answer

Labovian Narrative (Summary)—Continued from above segment:

Upon RPF attack, Hutu/Tutsi relations became very bitter. Tutsis students had no more Hutu friends; even teachers were against Tutsi students, failing their exams just because they were Tutsi.

Segment: 33
Time: 32:00—33:00
Topics: School personalities; friends
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Qn.: Do you remember the school director's name?

Ans.:

Andre Kibanguka

Qn.: And while at St. Andre, do you remember some of your friends' names? The Tutsis

Ans.:

My best friend's name was Clotilde; they killed all her siblings her parents. She was left alone. *Unbelievable—she had like 10 siblings…*

Qn.: Where is she now?

Ans.:

Somewhere in Rwanda…I don't know…

Segment: 34
Time: 33:00—34:00
Topics: School personalities; friends cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.: The last I heard was she got married…

Qn.: So while all this is going on; the RPF have attacked and the environment is getting tense [with an increase in discrimination] are there any teachers helping and encouraging *you guys* [meaning Tutsis]?

Ans.:

[Editorial Note: Her answer turns out to be the opposite of what the interviewer asked; she instead discusses one particularly troublesome teacher]

I really had a problem with this one teacher…in Rwanda at the time; we had majors in high school.

Segment: 35
Time: 34:00—35:00
Topics: School personalities cont'd; discrimination
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 or ½

Continuation/completion of answer to above question

Ans.:

Mine was nursing. So, we'd go to do clinical sessions in hospitals. But the teacher would fail me every time.

Segment: 36
Time: 35:00—36:00
Topics: School personalities cont'd; discrimination
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: ½

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.:

So at the end of the year, I did not pass the class because of her.

Had to switch schools because of that incident, otherwise, she would have to repeat the class. Went to a private school.

Qn.: What was the name of the school?

Ans.:

Espana

Qn.: Do you remember that teacher's name?

Ans.:

No.

Segment: 37
Time: 36:00—37:00
Topics: School personalities and discrimination cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.:

She was a very young woman…but she was very mean

Qn.: And when did you go to Espana?

Ans.:

Right after my father died…1993 in September.

Qn.: And how were things there?

Ans.:

Things were…very bad…it was far—boarding school

Segment: 38
Time: 37:00—38:00
Topics: School personalities and discrimination cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

They had groups of Interahamwe students…her first day of class a girl taunted her indirectly, "now they send us those with long noses and necks"

And at night, she'd be called names and harassed (roaches, snakes, go back to Ethiopia, we're going to kill you, etc.).

Segment: 39
Time: 38:00—39:00
Topics: School personalities and discrimination cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Qn.: Did you know any of those Interahamwe students?

Ans.:

Yes, I remember one girl—her name was Kezia—was loud…would call her names like cockroaches—Inyenzi

Kezia and co. would continuously call them names and threaten to kill them…

Segment: 40
Time: 39:00—40:00
Topics: School personalities and discrimination cont'd; situation in other parts of country
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Kezia and co. would continuously call them names and threaten to kill them…

Qn.: While all that was happening in school, did you know what was going on in the rest of the country—the tensions that were going on?

Ans.:

Yes… In Kigali, grenades were being thrown at people, people were being killed. Every time she called home she would get such reports…

Qn.: While you were in St. Andre, you mentioned partial treatment by teachers. Did you experience the same in Nyanza?

Segment: 41
Time: 40:00—41:00
Topics: School personalities and discrimination cont'd; friendships
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.:

In private schools, we didn't experience that. And a lot of Tutsi lived in Nyanza

Qn.: So did you have many Tutsi friends in Nyanza as well as teachers?

Ans.:

Yes.

Qn.: Who were your best friends there—do you remember their names?

Ans.:

No, I don't remember…*I can't believe it's been a while*

Qn.: And even teachers you can't remember any?

Ans.:

I remember one teacher…he was a doctor—his name was Dr. Galika

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Segment: 42
Time: 41:00—42:00
Topics: School personalities and friendships; displacements
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: N/A

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.: Dr. Galika

Qn.: Before 1994, do you remember any instances where people were displaced—made to leave their homes because they were Tutsis?

Ans.:

Not in particular, not in my family but I know they were…

Qn.: What about in your neighborhood or nearby?

Ans.:

No, I don't remember any incident. I don't recall.

Segment: 43
Time: 42:00—43:00
Topics: Displacements cont'd; harassment/assault
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Continuation/completion of above answer

No, I don't remember any incident. I don't recall.

Qn.: Where were you in 1994?

Ans.:

In 1994 I was—oh let me—I remember one incident though… before 1994

Segment: 44
Time: 43:00—44:00
Topics: Harassment/assault cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Her and her sister were beaten by soldiers who stopped them on their way home from the library one night.

Her father had to come and bribe off the soldiers…

Qn.: And this is around what time?

Segment: 45
Time: 44:00—45:00
Topics: Harassment/assault cont'd
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.:

Around '93… [before] my father died

Qn.: And what did this bring in you?

Ans.:

We were really afraid…now my father was talking about…maybe we can move or leave!

Qn.: Did he have any ideas of where you'd potentially move to?

Ans.:

Maybe in Burundi with his brother (Esperance's uncle)… Or send my older brother to Belgium…he'd wanted to go

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Segment: 46
Time: 45:00—46:00
Topics: Relatives/social network abroad
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Concluded

Continuation/completion of above answer

…but hadn't gotten a scholarship [from the government?] even though he had good scores

Qn.: This is your brother?

Ans.:

Yeah

Qn.: So who was in Burundi?

Ans.:

My uncle—my father's brother. His name is uncle Karibu…he lives in Butare now

Qn.: And who was in Belgium?

Ans.:

I had cousins there

Qn.: Do you know their names

Ans.:

Josephine, Goretti…I had a lot of cousins [there]. Their mum was my aunt—my father's sister

Qn.: Before we go for a break, I just have two questions

Segment: 47
Time: 46:00—47:00
Topics: Family; rebel-support
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Qn.: Was anybody else in your family accused of being a rebel spy/sympathizer?

Ans.:

No, I don't remember any—just my sister.

Qn.: Last question before break. Where were you in 94 when the genocide started

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Segment: 48
Time: 47:00—48:00
Topics: Beginning of genocide
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.: I was at home coz we were on vacation from school…all of us kids were home on vacation.

[Break]

Qn.: You mentioned before where you were in 1994. Describe to me how you learned of Habyarimana's death…

Ans.:

We heard that on the radio. There was breaking news that Habyarimana's plane has been shot down.

Segment: 49
Time: 48:00—49:00
Topics: Beginning of genocide
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.:

So, all of a sudden we knew that we were gonna be dead. No doubt about it.

Qn.: And where were you, what time was it?

Ans.:

Around dinner time 8 or 9 but I don't remember exactly. We were almost going to bed.

Called everybody, "how are you doing?" They were fine. After that, gunshots everywhere. And then my mother, no my brother

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Segment: 50
Time: 49:00—50:00
Topics: Beginning of genocide
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…said that we have to spend the night in the hallway because maybe the gunshots will not penetrate those walls. So we slept in the hallway—we'd put mattresses there and sleep there from that night.

Qn.: And this is in Nyamirambo.

Ans.:

Yes…

Qn.: So in detail, as much as you can remember, describe how the Tutsi genocide started…as much as you can remember…

Ans.:

After the plane.

Segment: 51
Time: 50:00—51:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Continuation/completion of above answer

After an hour, we got a call from my older sister, saying her husband's friend had been killed. So they realized that the killings had begun and everyone would be killed. Because that man wasn't a politician.

Segment: 52
Time: 51:00—52:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They were waiting to get killed

Qn.: And this is your sister Mutesi?

Ans.:
No, Josephine

Qn.: Did you know her husband's friend's name?

Ans.: Nkusi

Qn.: So you were in the halls, afraid what happened next?

Ans.:
You're waiting for death to happen. You don't know when they're coming

Used to sleep in hallway, pray every day…

Me, I lost faith… "There's no way God can exist…"

Segment: 53
Time: 52:00—53:00
Topics: Genocide chronology

Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

So…I lost faith but my mum used to say, you need to pray.

A week later, the utilities stopped working.

No food, no water, couldn't leave house.

You couldn't go outside…we were like in prison in our home.

Couldn't even send anyone for food…we were just stuck home, waiting

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Segment: 54
Time: 53:00—54:00
Topics: XX
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

For one week, no one came to bother them. But they didn't have food. The house servant was a Tutsi so even he couldn't go outside to get food. Good Samaritans would bring food.

Segment: 55
Time: 54:00—55:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Parents and older siblings would starve and let the younger kids eat.

A dramatic change after having plenty to eat before the start of the genocide.

No water either. No showers.

After two weeks, soldiers came in a group of 5, "searching for a woman who was hiding" in their house.

Segment: 56
Time: 55:00—56:00

Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They took one of their cars.

After one week, they came back, took another car.

Segment: 57
Time: 56:00—57:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They kept coming and taking things, till there was nothing left to take. They then threatened to rape the women.

At 1 point, they took her sister for 5 hours. Esperance and others didn't ask what they did to her.

It was…I don't know how to describe it… Sometimes you'd wish they'd just come and kill you instead of killing you slowly—just get over with it.

Segment: 58
Time: 57:00—58:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Qn.: At this time, who's in the house with you?

Ans.:

My mother and siblings, and…

There were a total of 13 people in the house. Siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.

The oldest brother had taken over the role of the father after his death.

Segment: 59
Time: 58:00—59:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

There were a total of 13 people in the house. Siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.

Including the servant

Qn.: You said the servant was also Tutsi?

Ans.:

Yes, so he couldn't do anything—couldn't go outside. And he was obvious. He was tall, used to cover his nose when he went outside…

Segment: 60
Time: 59:00—01:00
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Qn.: How did you eat, get water, etc.?

Ans.:

Hutu friends would bring provisions coz dad had been kind to people. But, those good Samaritans would then go and kill other Tutsis.

Segment: 61
Time: 01:00—01:01
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Concluded

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: Do you remember some of those families that were nice to you, though they were Hutu?

Ans.:

I remember one man… I don't remember his name but I know he was from Kibuye. He'd bring us food all the time.

And I remember another, his name was Eugene. He'd bring us food and would come check on us all the time.

Qn.: Where is Eugene now?

Ans.:

I think he died.

Segment: 62
Time: 01:01—01:02
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Qn.: So you mentioned your family being in the house…what happened after these two weeks in the house?

Ans.:

We stayed in the house longer than that. The genocide happened in 1 month, coz after that they had almost killed everyone. We stayed in the house for almost two months.

They came to kill us June 11th and the war ended on July 4th.

They'd always come to try to get stuff. And like I mentioned, we'd run out of stuff to give.

Segment: 63
Time: 01:02—01:03
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Militias came on June 11th to kill brother, couldn't find him—he had hidden in the chicken houses behind the main house.

So they took them.

Segment: 64
Time: 01:03—01:04
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Were looking for a pit to bury them in but couldn't find one in the neighborhood, coz they (the militias) weren't locals and thus did not know the area.

They made them line up.

Segment: 65
Time: 01:04—01:05
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1--Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

They said they were going to use 1 gunshot to kill them. I remember I was so afraid I said I'm not going to watch my mother die, I'll just go get killed first. Esperance and her family were about to be killed, but a group of Hutus came and pleaded for mercy on their behalf.

Segment: 66
Time: 01:05—01:06
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1 Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Eventually, the militias relented but asked Esperance's family (and the Hutu pleaders) to let them take at least 1 person, the old man—a relative that was staying with Esperance's family. "We have to kill at least one person, we can't go without killing at least one person."

They left but promised to come back but said they'll go look for another Tutsi to kill that night.

Segment: 67
Time: 01:06—01:07
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Continuation/completion of above answer

The next day, her sister was sitting near their brother's suite. A grenade was thrown at the suite, which was off of the main house.

Segment: 68
Time: 01:07—01:08
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

But luckily, no one was hurt, just 1 of the family dogs.

Her sister wasn't harmed.

Qn.: This is your younger sister?

Ans.:

My younger sister.

UN vehicles would pass by but never helped.

Segment: 69
Time: 01:08—01:09
Topics: Genocide chronology; 1st execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

UN vehicles would pass by but never helped.

Qn.: So, after that incident of almost being killed, you stayed in the house till when?

Segment: 70
Time: 01:09—01:10
Topics: Genocide chronology
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1

Answer to the above answer

Ans.:

Our cousins joined us—paternal cousins. At some point, a Hutu distant relative came and took cousins but left Esperance and others

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Segment: 71
Time: 01:10—01:11
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

A couple of days later, Intarahamwe militia came—her mum had looked out the window, saw them approaching, and warned others…

Segment: 72
Time: 01:11—01:12
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Esperance and some siblings and their mum hid in one room, and others went elsewhere in the house. They locked the door. The Interahamwe came and tried to open it in vain. Her mum was going to open it but Esperance told her, don't; they're going to kill us anyway, so just let them open it themselves.

Segment: 73
Time: 01:12—01:13
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Esperance heard one of their neighbors say, never mind, this door is locked. Apparently, he'd seen them go in and was trying to protect them.

Esperance heard one of the Interahamwe say, "Why have you stayed alive this long? You were supposed to be dead long ago"

Segment: 74
Time: 01:13—01:14
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

…and took 5 relatives siblings and others. That was on June 11th.

Esperance and others stayed in that room for that night. The neighbor who had rescued them tried to find them a place to hide.

Segment: 75
Time: 01:14—01:15

Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

He himself (the neighbor-rescuer) couldn't hide them, coz his wife was Tutsi, so he was also a target. Eventually he found them a place to hide.

Esperance and the mum stayed together, and 2 of her brothers went to hide in an orphanage. 1 brother went with another family member—he was eight years old at the time.

Segment: 76
Time: 01:15—01:16
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Once that family found out he was Tutsi, they couldn't hide him anymore so they took him to a church—St. Famille.

He used to see killings, rapes, etc. a lot of the time.

Segment: 77
Time: 01:16—01:17
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

The man taking care of Esperance and her mum was Interahamwe. They stayed there for 2 weeks. He'd spend the day away from home—probably on killing sprees—then would come home at night. Took good care of them, said "Your dad was a good man."

Segment: 78
Time: 01:17—01:18
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

The man taking care of Esperance and her mum was Interahamwe. They stayed there for 2 weeks. He'd spend the day away from home—probably on killing sprees—then would come home at night. Took good care of them, said "Your dad was a good man."

He had a small house.

Family friend heard that Esperance and the mum were at that man's house, and came a took Esperance in his car, to his house in another neighborhood called Biryoko…

Segment: 79
Time: 01:18—01:19
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

"*…but I remember I was so afraid…in our way I saw people laying down…dead people can you imagine I didn't go anywhere for two months so I was everything changed houses destroyed dead people*."

The man had a wife. He was mixed—Tutsi and Hutu. His mum was from the father's village. He also brought one of her younger brothers to stay with them.

Segment: 80
Time: 01:19—01:20
Topics: Genocide chronology; 2nd execution survival and final hiding
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

But mum stayed at the Interahamwe man's house. This was around June 20th or 25th. After a week, the Inkontanyi (RPF rebel army / liberators) came and took over Kigali.

She had been in that man's house for a week, while her mother had been in the Interahamwe's house for an additional week.

Esperance heard commotion outside the night of the rebel takeover. The people hiding Esperance and brother said, the rebels are here, we have to go. They said if the Esperances were okay with it, they could remain in Kigali…

Segment: 81

Time: 01:20—01:21
Topics: Genocide chronology; end of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

…but the Hutu protectors feared retaliatory killings, so they were headed to the then Republic of Zaire (currently DR-Congo).

If Tutsi survivors were choosing to stay, they were told to go to the St. Andre school (Esperance's old school, which was a gathering point/camp for Tutsi survivors. While walking to St. Andre, she saw her mum.

Segment: 82
Time: 01:21—01:22
Topics: Genocide chronology; end of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued

Continuation/completion of above answer

Her mum was very skinny. Mum told Esperance she had actually been walking towards Congo refugee camp with Interahamwe man's family, but got tired and decided to return to Kigali. Brothers also reunited with her and mum.

Segment: 83
Time: 01:22—01:23
Topics: Genocide chronology; end of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: 1—Continued/Concluded

Continuation/completion of above answer

One of her younger brothers had been in an area called Kabuga, which had been captured by the Inkontanyi a while back, so he returned to the area where Esperance, her mum and her other brother were to reunite with them.

Qn.: For clarification, who told you to go to St. Andre?

Ans.:

The guy that had been hiding me. He said if you want, you can come with us, otherwise, you can stay (and go to St. Andre). Of course I decided to stay because I knew the Inkontanyi were taking over and weren't going to do anything (to us).

Qn.: You also talked about the friend or neighbor who ordered these soldiers…

Segment: 84
Time: 01:23—01:24
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above question

Qn. (Cont'd): ...not to open the door. Do you remember his name?

Ans.:

Samvura—I don't remember his other name. He was a kid—around 17, he used to play with my brother… They were the same age. He was a really nice guy.

Qn.: And he was Interahamwe as well?

Ans.:

No he wasn't. He happened to be there when they came.

Qn.: And these families…the one that took you in with your mother, then the other one…

Segment: 85
Time: 01:24—01:25
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above question

Qn. (Cont'd): …do you remember these families'…names…or where they were located?

Ans.:

Nyamirambo and Biryoko

Qn.: And um…how did your brothers…you said they went to the orphanage—

Ans.:

—Yeah a family friend too… My sister's godmother came and took one of my younger brothers into the orphanage.

Segment: 86

Time: 01:25—01:26
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

But another family came and took my other brother to Muhima, maybe 25 minutes away

Then I told you…they then found out he was Tutsi and…they told him to wear a dress so as to survive, as boys would be killed first. His face looked like a girl's face.

Qn.: So, when you got into St. Andre…

Segment: 87
Time: 01:26—01:27
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn. (Cont'd): Reunited with your mum and one of your brothers...while all this is going on, with all the chaos, where did you get the energy to keep going?

Ans.:

After the genocide, Esperance was traumatized for the 1st three years—didn't want to stay in Rwanda.

Segment: 88
Time: 01:27—01:28
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

After the genocide, Esperance was traumatized for the 1st three years—didn't want to stay in Rwanda.

They had had a good childhood and then it all changed. There was no way I was going to stay in Rwanda… This is too much for me…I'm just ready to go.

Qn.: You described the incident during which they lined you all up about to kill you and you volunteered to go in front…

Segment: 89
Time: 01:28—01:29
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above question

Qn. (Cont'd): …do you remember how you were feeling in that moment?

Ans.:

"You don't think…you're just numb…you just say, this is it I'm going to die. But I didn't want to see my mum and siblings killed first so you just say 'just kill me.' "

Qn.: Did you at any time try to disguise your identity as a Tutsi?

Segment: 90
Time: 01:29—01:30
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Answer to above question

Ans.:

No… Did not try to change her identity (as a Tutsi). *I was born a Tutsi let me stay a Tutsi.*

Qn.: The brother who hid in the chicken house—Guido—that was your first born?

Ans.:

Second born.

Qn.: That was one of the ones that were later taken by the Interahamwes?

Ans.:

He had a fianc , was going to get married…

Segment: 91
Time: 01:30—01:31
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Ans.:

It's very hard for me… Every single day when I think of him…he was a very nice man.

Qn.: Describe to me how you felt and the experience of the reunion with your family at St. Andre…how was that experience?

Ans.:

Reaction upon seeing mum: Hugging, laughing, crying, joking ("you stink!") Sometimes you just have to laugh coz you can't change anything…

Qn.:

Ans.:

Segment: 92
Time: 01:31—01:32
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

But my brother had spent like 2 months without taking a shower… I used to scrub him…because he was dirty…stinking. But it was a good feeling to see them.

Qn.: After St. Andre, where did you go?

Ans.:

We went home. Luckily our home was intact…
The house had been looted, but apart from the grenade damage (minor), the structure was intact.

Qn.:

Ans.:

Segment: 93
Time: 01:32—01:33
Topics: Aftermath; Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Currently, her mum rents out that house for money. They had/have 2 or 3 houses.

Qn.: While moving around, and hiding, are there any specific instances you remember when someone wanted to hurt you, especially those who were protecting you?

Segment: 94
Time: 01:33—01:34
Topics: Genocide chronology; flashback/clarification of timeline and details
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

No. Apart from the times I told you about, none…

Segment: 95
Time: 01:34—01:35
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Qn.: When did you feel you're free?

Ans.:

We had been hearing gunshots every night. So, the first night I didn't hear any gunshots was when I said, I am free.

Segment: 96
Time: 01:35—01:36
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Qn.: And this is around what time?

Ans.:

A week after arriving at St. Andre. That's when they told us—after a week—that you can go to your homes if they are still intact. So, on the first night after returning home, we didn't hear any gunshots.

Segment: 97
Time: 01:36—01:37
Topics: XX
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Qn.: What was the feeling of being in your home for two months without going outside?

Ans.:

You're like a prisoner in your own home. You don't know what to do with yourself. We couldn't even look outside…you couldn't even open the door.

Qn.: And how was life after the genocide and you felt free and went back to…

Ans.:

Yeah, life was…

Segment: 98
Time: 01:37—01:38
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…refugees were coming back from Uganda and Burundi, so her uncle and her cousins from Burundi joined them.

She didn't like the question they used to ask, "How did you survive?"

Segment: 99
Time: 01:38—01:39
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

"After a while, I said, I'm not gonna answer that question anymore."

"Because of the grace of God, there's no other way I can explain that!"

These relatives from Burundi were homeless; these were paternal relatives—mum lost all relatives in the genocide.

Segment: 100
Time: 01:39—01:40
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Qn.: So did you go back to school?

Ans.:

After 3 months, she went to school in Ruhengeri; rebels from Congo would try to come and start a rebellion. After that one such incident in which she fell and hurt herself while getting away…

Segment: 101
Time: 01:40—01:41
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

… she left the Ruhengeri school, went back to Kigali at the end of '96. Refused to go back to the school coz it wasn't safe. Sister living in the US had come 2 weeks after the genocide. Esperance then got visa and joined the sister.

Segment: 102
Time: 01:41—01:42
Topics: End of the genocide and aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

And that's how she came to the states.

Qn.: When was this?

Ans.:

End of '97.

Qn.: Which sister is this?

Ans.:

The one in South Bend (Indiana). Beata.

Qn.: How was it when you first came?

Ans.:

Adjustment in the US was hard at first; "*I used to cry every night*." She then decided to move on.

And then I got strong…

Segment: 103
Time: 01:42—01:43
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Qn.: With what happened in Rwanda, how did that affect your relationships with the Hutus?

Ans.:

She at first didn't want to relate to them, and then decided to just move on…

At first I couldn't even look at them. But then I said, they're living and I'm not. So I have to stop so I live.

Segment: 104
Time: 01:43—01:44
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

The sad thing is, "they don't recognize…apologize for [the] genocide."

"I have to let it go so I can live…Otherwise, I'm gonna stay mad for how long? I'm just gonna let it go…"

Qn.: And how do you let it go?

Ans.:

You pray…and you ask God to give you strength…

Segment: 105
Time: 01:44—01:45
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Honestly, I don't even hate them. Sometimes I wonder…they don't even know what they did… It was like…it's beyond belief. I don't think they realize what they did.

You just pray to God to let it go and give you strength…

Qn.: Other than prayer, what else do you do…

Segment: 106
Time: 01:45—01:46
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above question

Qn.: …to remember and yet to keep strong and keep living?

Ans.:

Also through giving resources to kids that are orphaned

Every once in a while, her mum visits the US and Esperance gives her things to take to those kids. "I can't complain…there's no reason to complain…I'm the lucky one."

Segment: 107
Time: 01:46—01:47
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…"I can't complain…there's no reason to complain…I'm the lucky one."

Qn.: Describe to me your healing process; from the time you were…ready to get shot, through today.

Ans.:

It's long and ongoing.

Segment: 108
Time: 01:47—01:48
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…at first I used to be so mad. Couldn't talk…I'd get jealous…why does this family have all their kids—they didn't kill anybody in their family. Why did my sister die, why did my brother die?

After that, you just say…"At least I have my mum…you look at the other ones who don't have anybody"

Segment: 109
Time: 01:48—01:49
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…Maybe after this [interview] I'll go home and cry—it'll bring memories again…after that I'll say, you have to keep going, you have to fight

Qn.: What do you mean you have to fight?

Ans.:

…to fight that hate in me—hating Hutus...I have to keep going…

Qn.: You showed me the scar on your leg and you mentioned the slaps you and your sister got from the soldiers even before the genocide…

Segment: 110
Time: 01:49—01:50
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above question

Qn.: …there could be some effects…maybe physical, mentally, psychological, socially, how do you deal with the effects on a daily basis?

Ans.:

Sometimes you say, what is life? You…one time you wake up you say…what is this? You just say, what do I have to wake up and do anything because of what you experienced in life. And then another time you…you have to find something that can push you through, otherwise it's it's

---

Segment: 111

Time: 01:50—01:51
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

> *I know a lot of survivor, they have problems. They have a lot of problems I know back home a lot of them they have drinking problem…they drink they have…yeah because they…they can't even imagine what happened they can't even realize what happened to them. So if you don't find something that can push you through if you don't find something that can [pause] give you inspiration, it's it's really its psychological it's really bad. Really.*

Qn.: *Interviewer asks about acculturation process*

Segment: 112
Time: 01:51—01:52
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above question and answer

Qn.: *Interviewer asks about acculturation process* (i.e. for when she first came to the US)

Ans.:

- She says it was hard, didn't even speak English
- And every time people asked where she was from and she said Rwanda, people who would ask about the genocide
- It was tough, but the fact that she survived the genocide enabled her to say, there's nothing I cannot pass. I went through bad stuff, this is nothing.

Segment: 113
Time: 01:52—01:53
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: *Interviewer asks about encounters with fellow Rwandans in her home-state* (both Tutsis and Hutus)

Ans.:

- She says that's another thing that helps her cope, meeting fellow survivors and talking about their experiences together.
- *You can talk about good old memories…it helps. Yeah, it helps a lot.*

Qn.: So did you find such support in Indiana?

Ans.:
I did…I did.

Qn.: So when did you go to school and which school did you go to in Indiana?

Ans.:
Indiana U. in South Bend

Qn.: You graduated already?

Ans.:
Yes, but I want to go back and do my masters.

Segment: 114
Time: 01:53—01:54
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…Yes, but I want to go back and do my masters…I'm in the process of doing that.

Qn.: So when did you graduate?

Ans.:
2—3 years ago…

Qn.: And you still in Indiana?

Ans.:
No, I just moved, I live in Portland, Oregon.

Qn.: How long ago was that?

Ans.:
3 or 4 months…

Qn.: In your own [opinion] what can be done so that what happened in Rwanda never happens again?

Ans.:

It's a tough question…coz every time they say never again…

Segment: 115
Time: 01:54—01:55
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…and then you hear Darfur and everywhere else, so I think it's a tough question…but I think us survivors have a big part.

- We have to continue talking about it
- Some people don't know about it
- She says even in Rwanda, today they don't talk about it enough
- I'm afraid that someday, they'll forget about the whole thing…they'll say, "oh, it happened, ok, let's move on…"
- *But you have to talk about it every time, you have to*

Segment: 116
Time: 01:55—01:56
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

- *...you have to tell the kids.*
- She says <u>she has told her [young] nephews and nieces before [about the genocide]. She doesn't tell them to hate Hutus, but she has told them "it happened."</u>
- You have to talk about it every time, if you get a chance

Qn.: *Interviewer asks if she's had a chance to go before the Rwandan Gacaca courts, and or what she knows about them.*

Ans.:

She doesn't know much about it. Someone told her mum to testify…

Segment: 117
Time: 01:56—01:57
Topics: Aftermath

Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

…but her mum was afraid of retribution. In any case, she didn't even see any actual killing.

Qn.: *Interviewer asks if she has had other chances to share testimony.*

Ans.:

- They discuss the Gacaca courts and other venues of sharing the experience
- She says she can now talk about it but for a long time couldn't coz it would bring back bad memories. But now that some time has passed, she can talk about it
- USC-Shoah is the first time she has discussed it

Segment: 118
Time: 01:57—01:58
Topics: Aftermath
Rough No. of Labovian Narratives: XX

Continuation/completion of above answer

Qn.: So have you developed some strategies to help you when these memories come back?

Ans.:

- She says her strategy to heal is to tell herself, "*people are in a good place, they are looking down on us*," and she calls her mum or talks to her sister.

Qn.: Many people will hear this testimony. What's your message for the future?

Yeah, like I said, never again, because I don't wish anybody to go through what I went through. It's a very bad experience for kids, for anybody to go through, so we have to do everything everything in our power to…never never again. And of course I thank you, because you are doing that in a way you are doing that because you are talking about genocide, and then whoever is going to maybe see this is gonna talk about it…yeah it's a good thing. So but, my message is never again, anywhere in the world.

Statement: Um…Ms. Esperance, it's been a pleasure meeting you…thank you for the boldness you've taken to share with us the tough experiences you went through, and uh…whoever listens will be touched. Thank you so much.

Ans.: Thank you.

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3. **EK Labovian Segments**

I.E.: The Segments with **<u>the most important</u>** Labovian narratives in EK's transcript—<u>to be transcribed verbatim</u>

- **First Two Weeks of Genocide:**

  <u>Video Segments: Segment 50 to Segment 57</u>

- **1st Execution Survival:**

  <u>Video Segments: Segment 62 to Segment 69</u>

- **2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion:**

  <u>Video Segments: Segment 71 to Segment 83</u>

4. **EK Verbatim Transcript**

I.E.: First Two Weeks of Genocide; 1st Execution Survival; 2nd Survival, Final Hiding/Separation, & Reunion

Basic Transcription Guide / Symbols:

I:	**Interviewer**
EK:	Esperance Kaligirwa
Stutter / very quick pause	-
Sudden slightly longer quick pause:	—
Longer pause / hesitation of voice (at end of clause or in mid-clause):	…
Much longer pause at the end of a clause or in mid-clause (e.g. in deep thought):	[pause]
Notable actions by interviewee denoted using asterisks and italic words, e.g.:	***sighs***

*** *** ***

First Two Weeks of Genocide
Video Segments: Segment 47 to Segment 57

152. **I: In 1994, where were you when the genocide started?**

153. **EK:** We were at home, because we were on vacation…

154. **I: OK…**

155. **EK:** Remember I told you that we were—I was going to school in Nyanza

156. **I: Hm-hm…**

157. **EK:** So it was uh…I was on vacation at home so

158. All of us kids were on home on vacation—yeah…

159. **I: Okay, let's have a break**

160. **EK:** Okay…

Break

---

161. **I: Okay, before we…left for the break…uh…you had uh…um…mentioned to us how—where you were in 1994…**

162. **EK:** Okay…

163. **I: Um…Describe to me how you learned of Habyarimana's death…**

164. **EK:** We heard that on the radio…

165. Yeah…on the news they had like a breaking news

166. **I: Hm-hm…**

167. **EK:** That like uh…Habyarimana has been killed…that like his airplane has been shot down, so…

168. All of the sudden we knew that we were going to be dead…

169. No doubt about it…

170. **I: Wow…**

171. **EK:** Yeah…

172. **I: And uh…where were you at that time…what time of the day did you learn that, and uh…?**

173. **EK:** I think it was around…

174. I think it was around maybe dinner time…maybe eight or nine…but I don't remember exactly…

175. **I: Yeah?**

176. **EK:** But I know…we were going to…almost going to bed

177. And then when we heard that…

178. Of course we…like, we called everybody, like how you doing?

179. Like uh…at that time everybody was fine after that

180. And then after that we heard gunshots—everywhere

181. And then—hm—my mother, no my brother said that

182. We—we have to…spend the night in the hallway because maybe the gunshots will not penetrate those walls so

183. We didn't sleep in our bedrooms

184. So we slept in the hallway…

185. Like we put mattresses on the floor and then we put—

186. From that time, we d—we slept in the hallway

187. **I: Hm…**

188. **EK:** Every night…

189. **I: Wow…**

190. **EK:** Yeah…

191. **I: And this is in Nyamirambo?**

192. **EK:** Nyamirambo, yeah…

193. **I: Okay…uhm…so in detail, as much as you can remember…**

194. **EK:** Hm-hm…

195. **I: Uhm…Describe how…the Tutsi genocide started…as much as you can remember.**

196. **EK:** Really, it start…after the Habyarimana airplane had been shot down, that's when

197. Then like after an hour we—my uh—my old[er] sister—we got a call from my older sister

198. She used to live in—about maybe ten minutes from us

199. She called uh—called us and said that uh …

200. Her husband best friend has been killed

201. And then at that time we knew that everybody is gonna be killed because

202. That friend wasn't even a politician or anything he was just like a regular man

203. So…at that time we knew that uh—everybody's gonna be killed

204. So…we were just like—waiting…every—l-yeah…

205. That's when…personally that's when I knew—that's—

206. **I: [Unintelligible]**

207. **EK:** —Started—

208. **I: —Yeah…**

209. **EK:** Yeah.

210. **I: And uh—this is your sister who—Mutesi?**

211. **EK:** No, Josephine

212. **I: Josephine of course, yeah…**

213. **EK:** Hm…

214. **I: And did you know your—her husband's best friend's name?**

215. **EK:** His name was—Nkusi

216. **I: Nkusi**

217. **EK:** Yeah—hm…

218. **I: So…you were in the halls, sleeping, are afraid of what is going to happen? And uh…what happened, what followed next?**

219. **EK:** You just don't—I don't kn—like I don't know how to describe like—you waiting for death to come anytime…

220. And you don't know when they're coming…you don't know what's gonna happen, y—just—horrible

221. And then we used to—like I said we used to sleep in the hallways t—we used to pray every day—every day—but for me…

222. I lost faith I was like…

223. There's no way God…can exist

224. So I lost faith but my mother used to say you need to pray every time—you need to pray

225. And uhm…at that time the phone was still working for like a week

226. And then all of the sudden everything stopped, we didn't have any water, we didn't have any electricity, we didn't have any food…

227. We couldn't go outside, you know how um…

228. Back home in Africa…the houses are fenced

229. They have like big fence

230. You can't even like see outside…

231. We were like in prison, in our home…

232. We couldn't even go outside…

233. We couldn't even send anybody to get food

234. We were just stuck—home—waiting

235. **I: Hm…**

236. **EK:** Yeah

237. Waiting…And then after…I think after…

238. For one week nobody came—nobody…

239. We just stayed there…nobody—didn't bother us or anything we just stayed there in our house…

240. We used to…we didn't have food

241. You know I don't even know what we ate—we didn't have food anywhere

242. We didn't have food

243. Because our…I don't know how to call—our house maid—maybe?

244. He was a Tutsi, so he—he couldn't even go outside to get food

245. So, we stayed home…

246. Maybe, like people who knew us would come and buy food for us
247. But we didn't have—at that time maybe my brother would say
248. You guys are going to eat, I'm not gonna eat
249. Or my mum—say, you kids are going to eat, I'm not gonna eat…
250. Can you imagine like
251. We used to have a lot of food
252. Like food everywhere
253. So all the sudden, no food
254. **I: Hm…**
255. **EK:** All the sudden, no water
256. We didn't shower we didn't like we used to stink
257. [Mumbles] Like yeah…it was bad
258. So after…I think after two weeks, and then uh…
259. These soldiers came
260. They…used to come in a group like maybe five…
261. So they came and then they said
262. They were looking for this um…
263. This woman—they said uh—this woman is hiding
264. In our house…
265. But we didn't even know the woman
266. And then they went through the house and they searched
267. They didn't found [sic] her but uh…
268. What they want—what they wanted

269. They wanted to take

270. My father when he died he left

271. He left—three cars

272. So, we had like three cars in our house like three cars parked in our house

273. Car parked in the house…so when they didn't find an—the woman—they said they have to take one car

274. Otherwise they're going to kill us

275. So, they took one car, they left

276. And then another like after one week, they would come back again

277. They would say we're going to kill you guys unless if you give us another th—another thing or give us money

278. They would took [sic] another car

279. They would come next time they would took

280. And then all of the sudden we didn't have anything to give them

281. Because we didn't have any—my brother didn't have any money

282. We didn't have any more cars to give…yeah

283. We didn't have anything

284. And then…next time they would come and they would say

285. We are going to take your sister

286. Maybe they are going to rape her

287. They w—they—they w—they w—you can do anything

288. **I: Hm…**

289. **EK:** They would take—they—one time they took my little sister…****sighs****

290. They [pause] took her for…almost for five hours

291. **I: Hm-hm…**

292. **EK:** And then she came back for five—they brought her back

293. We didn't—we didn't even ask her

294. We didn't even talk about it, we didn't know what they did to her…

295. **I: Hm**

296. **EK:** So it—it was just um…ta—It was just I don't know how to describe it

297. Sometimes you would wish they would just come and kill you

298. Instead of killing you—like—slowly or…

299. They would just come and kill you

300. And get over with it

301. **I: H-hm…**

302. **EK:** Yeah…

*** *** ***

1st execution survival
Segments: Segment 62 to Segment 69

303. **I: So what happened after these two weeks in the house?**

304. **EK:** So after, so…we stayed in the house…

305. Really longer because…really the genocide happened maybe, in like one month

306. They had been killed every, like, like almost everybody body

307. So for us, we stayed in the house for almost two months

308. Because…they come…they came to kill us in June…I think June 11th

309. And the war ended in July, July 4th

310. So…so we stayed longer

311. …than other people

312. So but then…like I said they used to come and like…just to…get stuff

313. If they didn't—like I said we didn't have any more stuff to give

314. And then, the next time…they came

315. Soldiers—every time—soldiers…not Interahamwe, but soldiers

316. **I: Hm…**

317. **EK:** With—guns so—this time…they came, and then they said they were looking for my brother—my old brother

318. That they wanna kill him

319. But my brother—went hiding, like we had like a um—chicken, like chicken we had a house for chickens

320. So he went to hiding

321. In that house

322. But we didn't know where he went, really we didn't know

323. Because every time they would come we were like running around

324. Like, everyone would run…so we didn't know where he went

325. So we said, we don't know where he went

326. They searched for him, they couldn't find him

327. And then they said, you know what, now we're going to kill you guys

328. We have to come with us

329. So…they…we were like maybe…12 people

330. They say we have to go

331. They were looking for—a hole

332. To—you know, like they had those big holes

333. They would put people in that holes

334. But because they didn't know the neighborhood they were

335. They were coming from somewhere else

336. They didn't know where the hole were

337. So they said we have to go look for those holes

338. They went they couldn't find holes

339. We—we walk for like um…maybe five minutes

340. And then, they stopped us they said you know what we have to line

341. We have—you have to line ***gestures, making a line****

342. Like…like a line

343. And then, we gonna use one gunshot to kill you guys…just one…

344. I remember I was so…so afraid I like you know what…

345. I'm not even gonna watch my mother died or my siblings die

346. I'm just gonna go in the first—first line…

347. I'm just gonna be killed…first

348. …and then…we lined

349. And then all of the sudden

350. These people came and then they said

351. You know what these people they're not en—enemies they are

352. Really good people you don't have to kill them

353. We'll give you anything you want

354. They were Hutu

355. Really don’t kill these people they are really nice

356. They say no, we have to kill them

357. And then we walked for like two minutes

358. And then they were like you know what we have to kill you guys

359. And then these people follow us

360. And said you know what these people are really nice

361. They don’t even go to politics or anything

362. They are really nice, don’t kill them

363. And then, all of the sudden they say, ok, we’re not gonna kill you guys

364. But, you know what, just give us this—you know I told you

365. This old man who was at the house

366. Just give us this old man we’re gonna kill him

367. Coz we can’t go we can’t go without killing anybody

368. This night, we can’t go…there’s no way

369. We have to kill him

370. And then these people are like, no way

371. Just leave them alone they’re really nice and then

372. All of the sudden they say you know what

373. Okay, we’re just gonna leave you guys

374. But, we’ll come back

375. We’ll come back anyway

376. And then they said, you know we just gonna find a Tutsi to kill tonight

377. There’s no way you’re not gonna go tonight not killing any Tutsi

And then they left us

So we went—we went home

I: H-hm…

EK: **_Sigh_** and then my brother we find my brother my brother

…he…he didn't know if we were alive or…anything

We went back home

And then the next day…the next day

My sister the sister her is was Kaitesi

He was sitting in my brother's bedroom

My brother's bedroom was outside the main house

So she was sitting there and then all of a sudden we heard a

We heard like a big boom it was like a grenade

In the in my brother's bedroom

But she was fine but my my sister was fine she didn't hurt anywhere or anything

But uh…I remember our dog died—yeah

Because of that

I: Oh…the dog

EK: The dog, yeah…

I: H-hm…

EK: We had two dogs

So…the dog died

Because of that grenade

But my sister luckily she wasn't killed

401. **I: This is your younger sister, Kaitesi?**

402. **EK:** No, my old sister…

403. **I: H-hm…**

404. **EK:** Yeah, my old sister

405. **I: H-hm…**

406. **EK:** And then, what do you do after that it's like…

407. You don't even know what to do

408. You…can't go anywhere

409. And then we would see like those UNs UN um…vehicle

410. They would pass through the house

411. And then we would say

412. Tsk…[pause]…I remember I used to I used like to scream

413. Can you come and help us…please

414. But um **_shakes her head_** … yeah, nothing happened

415. Nothing happened…they woul—every time they would come pass

416. Through the house I don't know what they were doing or going

417. But they didn't do anything … to help **_shakes her head_** … anybody

418. **I: H-hm…**

419. **EK:** Yeah…

*** *** ***

2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion:
Segments: Segment 69 to Segment 83

420. **I: So after…uhm…after walking outside, and then you people returning back to the house…uh…I mean, it kept on to…things kept on going like that unt- until when, you know…?**

421. **EK:** It kept…things kept going like that until

422. They were like, my cousins…they came

423. Like hiding in our houses…my…

424. That's my father's—my uncle's kids

425. They came hiding

426. Because they didn't know where to go anyway

427. There's no way

428. Hiding in our house is like what

429. ***Shakes head and shrugs***…yeah…it was—it wasn't it wasn't safe

430. But they didn't know where to go

431. So they came anyway

432. And then, because they…their mum had a…um…a brother in law

433. Who was a Hutu

434. So…he came, and he took those cousins away

435. Because he was a Hutu

436. He came with a car and then he took

437. He took those cousins away…

438. He couldn't…he couldn't take us we were just like um…

439. We were just left alone…

440. And then you couldn't uh…explain to our little brother why they didn't take them

441. With them…so it was really bad and then after that

442. That's when the last

443. Group of—now it was Interahamwe

444. They came, I remember it was a morning

445. And then my mother said, you know

446. She…looked through the window

447. And then she saw this group of Interahamwe

448. They came into our houses

449. And then um…my mother said you know you have to go

450. You have to run you have to hide they're coming

451. And then all of the sudden we went like hiding

452. So my mother, my two young brothers, and my nephew, the one who was on vacation

453. I forgot one yeah—I forgot one person who was in the house

454. My cousin too—she was at our house

455. We—were hiding in the same room

456. Those are the ones who survived

457. So were hiding in the same room

458. Everybody else we didn't know where they went

459. We woul—just like, run

460. So we didn't know where they went

461. So we just like hide in one—like small-small room

462. And then we closed the door

463. And then we heard—people—coming…

464. And then they tried to—they tried to open the door…

465. And then I ss-my mother was going to open it

466. I said you know what

467. They gonna kill us anyway just don't open it let them open

468. Don't open for them they just gonna kill us anyway

469. And then I heard this um…

470. He was our neighbor

471. He said…you know what this room this room you can't open this

472. This room…the door is not working…

473. Apparently he saw us going in that room

474. He said this room is n-you can't even open it

475. There's nothing in there

476. You can't even go there—they left

477. That's how-we survived…

478. **I: Uh-huh…**

479. **EK:** They left but we heard noises we heard like maybe taking my brother

480. We didn't heard like saying names or anything but we heard saying

481. Why did you stay—why did you stay too long…you Tutsis

482. You're supposed to die, way before—you stayed for two months?

483. There's no—reason—you have to die now

484. So—they took them my they took my uh—my brother, Guido

485. My—my sister Kaitesi, my…little sister Rose, my auntie Antoinette, and my…other relative Paul

486. They took five people

487. **I: H-hm…**

488. **EK:** So we don't know where they took them apparently they killed them…so

489. **I: And that was the last…**

490. **EK:** Their la-yeah, that was their last time…

491. **I: Yeah…**

492. **EK:** I know it was June 11

493. **I: Yeah…**

494. **EK:** So that was the last time…

495. And then we…for us we-stayed in the room

496. We spent the night—there…

497. We couldn't go anywhere

498. And then…they guy who said the room is—you can't open the room

499. He went and uh…told our neighbor if they can hide us

500. But they refused

501. They said we cann-we cannot hide them

502. Of course he s-he couldn't hide…he couldn't hide us because he-his mum was Tutsi

503. So he was also a target—really

504. So he couldn't h-hide us—and then he went and asked this one guy

505. If he can uh…he can hide us

506. This guy said he can hide my—me and my mother

507. So he took my—he took my mother and me

508. And uh…and he hide us…in uh—his house

509. And then my brother…my brother…

510. My two brothers—they went into this orphanage

511. It was like—maybe two minutes from home

512. So they were hiding over there

513. My young brother—but ma-my-my the other brother

514. There's one guy who took him…and then

515. These people like a friend of our family

516. They were Hutu—they took him and then hide him and then hide him

517. But um…but when they found out he was uh—but he was a little kid he was like—maybe eight years old

518. Then they found out he was a Tutsi

519. They couldn't f-they couldn't hide him anymore

520. So they—they took him into this church like St. Famille Church

521. It was big church

522. That's where he was hiding

523. But of course there

524. Later-later he told us that he…they would come and kill people

525. They would take people and they would rape women

526. He-he saw…everything—there in that church

527. But my-my uh…my young brother

528. Another family friend

529. They-they took him and hide him

530. He didn't see the…that that kind of atrocity

531. But he remember when you ask him—he's twenty-five now he remember everything

532. **I: Uh-hm…that's your brother**

533. **EK:** Yeah…my-my younger brother

534. **I: Okay…uh…and then?**

535. **EK:** And then, for us…this guy hide us my mother and me [pause]

536. F-we stayed there, for…I don't know maybe a week

537. We stayed there for a week

538. He used to go…maybe he was Interahamwe

539. He used to go maybe kill people and then he would come at night

540. But he didn't touch us or do anything to us

541. He knew-he knew my father he was a neighbor

542. He knew my father he say you know your father was a—nice man

543. I'm just gonna hide you guys

544. He would go, during the day

545. We didn't know what he was-he would do during the day

546. But he would come at night, he would feed us

547. He had uh…he had a wife there

548. The wife would cook—he would feed us ***shrugs****

549. He would give us—we would take showers

550. He had a like a small house

551. But we woul-…he hide us for-two weeks

552. Yeah for two weeks…and then…another family friend

553. He found out that uh we were there and then he came

554. He came and took me

555. Another maybe…neighborhood called Biryoko

556. Another maybe 10 minutes or 5 minutes

557. He came with his car and then he took me but I remember I was so afraid because

558. I was **_sigh_** in our way we find like people laying down

559. Can you imagine I didn't see…I didn't go anywhere for two months

560. So I was…everything changed like houses-like destroyed

561. People everywhere lying down…dead people

562. So he took…he took me…into his house

563. And he had also a wife

564. He was he was mixed—he his um…I think his mum is from my father's village

565. He's from Butare

566. So he was mixed he was mixed Tutsi and Hutu

567. So…he took me, and then later on he went and um…

568. Bry-ma-brought my younger brother

569. So my younger brother…we were together—in the same house

570. Then my mother stayed there-my-my mother stayed at the other guy

571. For…like I said we-they-it was around maybe June…June 20 or 25th…

572. So…after a week…the i-…Inkontanyi came…they came

573. They took Kigali…so, I was hiding in that other man's house for maybe 1 week…

574. 1 week…and then my mother stayed there for another week

575. And then after…after that I remember it was like nighttime…

576. I heard like footsteps…everybody was like running around

577. I didn't know what was going on I was like what the heck is this

578. And then w-and then-and then…the man told us you know the Inkontanyi are in Kigali

579. They took Kigali, we have to go you have to go…

580. And then he said…if you wanna stay you can stay,

581. But for us, we have to go into the old Zaire the Congo

582. We have to go in Congo

583. Because they were afraid maybe ***sigh*** Inkontanyi were going to kill them or something

584. So and then I said you know what me I'm going to stay I'm not going anywhere

585. And then…so those who're going to stay they told us to in St. Andre

586. The-the school I went to

587. That's where everybody went

588. So they told us to go over there

589. And then when I was walking all of the sudden I saw my mother…

590. **I: In St. Andre**

591. **EK:** ***Nods assent*** …Yeah…

592. **I: H-hm…**

593. **EK:** I saw my mum…I was like ***Shakes head [in disbelief] & whispers*** oh my Gosh…

594. So he-sh-didn't know if we were alive…or anything…

595. We saw, it was…** *Shakes head [in disbelief] & whispers*** oh my Gosh…

596. She was so…skinny…like huh…jus-unbelievable…

597. And then she-but she told me that um…she was going in-in…

598. She was following…the guy coz the guy was going in Congo

599. So she was following **_Chuckles_** the guy

600. Going in whatever Congo and then she got tired…

601. And then she was like you know what I have to go back home

602. And then turned around

603. And then she came back…

604. **I: H-hm…**

605. **EK:** Yeah…that's when we were reunited

606. My brother, my mum, and me

607. And then my…my other brother…we found out that he was in Ka-Kabuga…

608. Like-like Kabuga was um…was in…uh…

609. I think Inkontanyi had Kabuga a long time ago

610. Yeah…so…and then he came…he came back later on

611. **I: Huh…**

612. **EK:** Yeah…

Appendix B (For Chapter Two):

Narrative Analysis Excerpt Set From Interview Transcripts For:

- **Freddy Mutanguha**
- **Esperance Kaligirwa**
- **Daniel Ndamwizeye, and**
- **Arsene Nsabimana**

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Example/Excerpt 2.2.2.i—A: Freddy Mutanguha's Discussion of President Habyarimana's Death
(Lines 28-31 Underlined For Emphasis)

I: Um… Last day of school
did you go home during Easter vacation
can you take us through the end of March, and then
the first two weeks of April?
FM: Yeah, as usual actually we had vacation at the end of March
Uh….this were vacation for Easter, the Easter vacation
because each and every one has to go home, enjoy the Easter
Or…and you know those Catholic
We were…we were living in environment of all Catholic
Even the government was respecting the Catholic church very well
So, we—I went home…
Uh…yes, the tension was there
But it was not too much
It was about politics and problem-um—political parties and everything
Who's belong to one party and another one
What are differences and things like that
But it was not an ext—at the extent of
Feeling that we'll be killed very soon
So we…I went back home and uh…
I continue life and vacation
Like having reunion
Having meetings uh with other s—fellow students
I mean uh…who were living in the region
So up to uh 6th of April
Where, we hear that the plane of Habyarimana
Crashed and he died inside
This became like a trigger
And those people who were not—who didn't believe
Of how Tutsi were enemies of country
They start to believe it they say
Who killed the president?
And then on radio and television
And everywhere they were saying
That the…RPF have killed Habyarimana

Example/Excerpt 2.2.2.i—B: Esperance Kaligirwa's Discussion of President Habyarimana's Death (Line 45 Underlined For Emphasis)

12. I: Um…Describe to me how you learned of Habyarimana's death…
13. **EK:** We heard that on the radio…
14. Yeah…on the news they had like a breaking news
15. I: Hm-hm…
16. **EK:** That like uh…Habyarimana has been killed…that like his airplane has been shot down, so…
17. All of the sudden we knew that we were going to be dead…
18. No doubt about it…
19. I: Wow…
20. **EK:** Yeah…
21. I: And uh…where were you at that time…what time of the day did you learn that, and uh…?
22. **EK:** I think it was around…
23. I think it was around maybe dinner time…maybe eight or nine…but I don't remember exactly…
24. I: Yeah?
25. **EK:** But I know…we were going to…almost going to bed
26. And then when we heard that…
27. Of course we…like, we called everybody, like how you doing?
28. Like uh…at that time everybody was fine after that
29. And then after that we heard gunshots—everywhere
30. And then—hm—my mother, no my brother said that
31. We—we have to…spend the night in the hallway because maybe the gunshots will not penetrate those walls so
32. We didn't sleep in our bedrooms
33. So we slept in the hallway…
34. Like we put mattresses on the floor and then we put—
35. From that time, we d—we slept in the hallway
36. I: Hm…
37. **EK:** Every night…
38. I: Wow…
39. **EK:** Yeah…
40. I: And this is in Nyamirambo?
41. **EK:** Nyamirambo, yeah…
42. I: Okay…uhm…so in detail, as much as you can remember…
43. **EK:** Hm-hm…
44. I: Uhm…Describe how…the Tutsi genocide started…as much as you can remember.
45. **EK:** Really, it start…after the Habyarimana airplane had been shot down, that's when

Example/Excerpt 2.2.2.i—C: Esperance Kaligirwa's Discussion of The Timeline of the Rwandan (1994) Genocide

613. **I: So what happened after these two weeks in the house?**
614. **EK:** So after, so…we stayed in the house…
615. Really longer because…really the genocide happened maybe, in like one month
616. They had been killed every, like, like almost everybody body
617. So for us, we stayed in the house for almost two months
618. Because…they come…they came to kill us in June…I think June 11th
619. And the war ended in July, July 4th
620. So…so we stayed longer
621. …than other people

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—A: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Seeking of Refuge With Jean-Pierre

226. So…she [his mum] said she told me oh…try with Jean-Pierre again
227. Go and try with Jean-Pierre
228. I went that night
229. I went I knocked the door of Jean-Pierre and said
230. Uhm… He heard my voice
231. And he said, oh, come to my house
232. But the same day on the seventh
233. Jean-Pierre came to my house to see
234. If he can find me there and
235. Go and hide me in [his] house
236. So he said yeah, I was looking for you
237. Everybody will be killed
238. But I don't want you to be killed
239. Actually, at least is what I can do
240. So, stay in my house
241. If we—if they come and kill you
242. I'm very sure that they will kill—
243. I will die with you
244. But you're a very good friend of me
245. And then I need to I need to make sure that you protected

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—B: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of The Sounds of Killings/Rapes & Militia Celebration/Cheerleading

246. They kept killing my neighbors
247. I mean all the Tutsis around
248. They killed many many people
249. They killed, they raped uh-they-n-they raped actually
250. The women you can fe-you can listen
251. The screaming around
252. I was in house but I didn't see anyone but
253. You can um…listen to
254. Those screaming, people being killed
255. With machete people being discovered from-in-in
256. In the bush and then…you can listen to uh…big group of people
257. Passing around the houses
258. And say—and um…very bad word and say…
259. I will kill—we will kill them all…
260. They were all singing and day and night
261. So…it was so horrible to listen to that
262. And…many time they say
263. Which family remain
264. When they pass
265. They were—n-they say
266. We need to go and kill Vincent
267. Vincent still alive there
268. My…family they were not first to be killed
269. Because they d-they had some money
270. And then they were giving money for life
271. And when they come to kill them and they give some money
272. And they go back they give them food
273. They go back…
274. But uh they were killed actually at the last
275. On fourteenth of uh…of uh…April

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—C: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of His Hunger at Jean-Pierre's House & His Mum's Nightly Trips to Feed Him

295. And… Jean Pierre…was living in a very poor family
296. They had to eat one time a—one time a day
297. No breakfast no lunch but supper
298. And…when you look at things that they
299. Have to feed themselves—um
300. First…one day is only potatoes—sweet potatoes
301. The…following day probably
302. Only beans without any other things
303. He was…happy with uh—that fam—that-that condition because
304. Since he born, it was like that
305. But he was used that—to that conditions
306. But I was not used to that
307. Used to that condition I was dying with
308. With hunger and everything
309. My mum was aware about that
310. Each and every night
311. She was coming to see me with food
312. And Jean Pierre, say call me and Jean Pierre
313. You sit together you're friends
314. You eat and I—she-she-she went back
315. We were so close
316. It was—it was not difficult to cross—actually
317. And come to s-and come to see us because you can see
318. The house I can go there
319. So, um…she kept doing that
320. From uh…the night of 7th night of 8th, 9,
321. 10, 11, 12, she kept actually doing the same thing
322. And…I had some hope because
323. Each and every night, I had hope to see my mum coming
324. And see me…

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—D: Recounting Of His Memories of His Last Meeting With His Mother, and the Sounds of His Dying Parents & Siblings

She told me that she doesn't have
Any money left at home…they were saved by money
She said that there's no food, no money
Nowhere to go
So she said that uh…
We don't have hope tomorrow, probably
It was not—I think that—she said
That it was not possible
To live again because
We don't have anything left to leave to the militias
…
I never see her in that condition in that
In that mood since I born
That was my first time
[Pause/Sniffle] So uh…She told me, many things
And asked her, and say
What will happen
If you die I don't die
Because I'm in hiding here
You are exposed…
Everybody knows who you are…
He [sic] say…if you survive, be a man
[Long pause]…This…is the last word I heard from her
[Shaky voice] She didn't even say goodbye
…
[Crying] And…the last word I will never forget it
The following day about 11 I heard
I was listening to very big group of people
Were coming to my house
They took everybody from the house
And they killed them
I could listen I could hear the screaming of
People being beaten and killed
And then…at a certain…it took about 15 minutes
And then…I realized that everybody k-was…d-died
[Crying] It is so hard to listen to that
[Crying] You feel wanting—you feel you want to listen to it
[Crying] You feel you want to go and see
[Crying] It was so hard I c-each and every time
[Crying] And sometime…have…
[Crying]…nightmares…and I listen exactly-exactly the same noises
[Crying]…come to me
[Long pause]…It's so hard to live with and

421. [Crying] I could wish to not listen to it
422. [Crying] Sometime…I feel happy that I have uh…
423. [Crying] listened to my…parents die
424. [Crying] But the other time I say
425. [Crying] I don't have peace because of that
426. [Crying; Long Pause; Sigh]…But, life have to continue

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—E: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting of The Creation of an Association for Student Genocide-Survivors

41. So all people who turn up [at the funeral], they are survivors
42. And then, they start to talk about their stories
43. So that's how in—h-how—that how
44. We knew each other
45. And…we were about uh…
46. 15 people…and…they were actually, we became
47. Friend…and then we start to talk about
48. Our experience…we…uh in 1996 it h—
49. Um…the survivor student in Butare
50. Have formed um…an association
51. Uh…ARG…the…student survivor association
52. So we said why not we create another branch
53. Of it here…so that we can have a framework
54. To…talk about our experiences
55. So uh we created it and h—I helped actually
56. To…create it and I-I was coordinator
57. And for about three years
58. But each and every uh…Sunday
59. We sat together, and talk about our lessons our
60. Experience and what…is difficult for each and every one and why
61. And what we can do…for…for our friends
62. So it helped a lot
63. Because we didn't have
64. Many other student who
65. Failed at the their school
66. But before we had—um—many many cases
67. Of trauma…and then uh…when we start to
68. To be in one association, work together
69. Talking about our—our experiences
70. Helping each other…financially, psychologically, socially

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—F: Freddy Mutanguha's Recounting the Creation of Student-Survivor Association 'Artificial Families'

75. And…[clears throat] the amazing thing that
76. Uh…survivors did the—student-survivors did
77. They were forming a group of ten, ten, ten, and ten
78. And then, they say this one family
79. They elect…who have to be mother and father
80. And then, you be uh others become children
81. So…you have to be a—in order to be—to be a father
82. You have to be wise
83. You have to be…actually there's so many
84. Steps that you have to cross
85. To be a father of a family
86. Because even your behavior
87. If people need to imitate or
88. To follow you or to listen to you
89. And to be a…in order to be example
90. To—for ten people on how they have to live
91. So you have to be someone
92. So…this helped us a lot
93. Because um…we create those…
94. Uh… Kind of…what we called [gestures to make quotes] "artificial families"
95. But these families have worked a lot
96. And still…now…you can find someone in the streets
97. Say "oh, my father!"
98. After ten years
99. But they still respected
100. And they still together
101. And…for example if there's an event
102. That you're going to
103. To have like wedding or something
104. They support a lot
105. And most of them like those who were
106. In my family…the…they all work
107. They have their job
108. So, when you go going to get married
109. You don't have to be c-you don't have
110. To be worried about the budget
111. Budget is for them
112. I: Were you a father?
113. FM: I was father

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—G: Freddy Mutanguha's Response to Question About His Motivation For Becoming Genocide-Survivor Advocate

187. FM: I think it's something that came spontaneously
188. [Chuckles] in my [Chuckles] in my life
189. Because we didn't plan to…to do…
190. Or…to become what I am now
191. But probably my character, have influenced a lot
192. Because…I…um…I like to work with
193. Survivors…I like actually supporting survivors
194. And anyone who…supports survivors is my-good and good friend
195. So um…I felt somehow strong…
196. Uh…to encourage others to be strong
197. And then we had to find a way
198. To encourage them
199. The…first thing to do is…
200. To be together … and…incite them to talk about
201. Them-s-er-their…life and their stories
202. So, the fact that I was
203. I became a father
204. Or, the reason why I became a father
205. I was…strongly encouraging them to speak
206. And…I was…worried about…
207. Our lives, in general…
208. And then…I was a good speaker
209. For my-s-in my…in uh…when I was in school
210. I didn't…um…fear to face our rector
211. The…director of the school and tell him our problems
212. Particular problems and incite and force him
213. To take our problems as particular problems
214. To be solved as quick as possible.
215. So my…the other survivors they liked it

Excerpt 2.2.2.ii.I (Freddy Mutanguha's Personal Experiences)—H: Freddy Mutanguha's Discussion of Reconciliation After Genocide

FM: First of all uh…right after genocide I was
Had a very…strong feeling of
Hating a-Hutu-in the rest of my life
Because of what they did to me
Was so big and…you know…
I lost everything…
Because of them
The time came…where I find out I have to-[chuckle]
I'm obliged to-obliged to live together
And…I find out…talking to them
Or not talking to them
Is it punishment to them?
Do they feel that…
Is it…do they feel that uh
They lose anything if I don't talk to them?
Or, just-I just killing…or…
Rising uh…anger f-to my heart and
Doing very bad to my-my life
So I decided to not be called survivor
At the same time a killer
Or…someone who have intention to kill
What I need actually is uh…
I g-I have given priority on the memory of genocide
…
And at the same time
Some of the—uh…
People in my age or below my age
They were not directly involved in genocide
So…I find out that probably
Uh…I need to get to the point
Where I should stop my collective blame
And…Make sure that…
I live…because in our country…
I will never have a Hutu land and a Tutsi land
That how…my country is now
Different from someone who live
In Diaspora because they can say I'm going there
I don't need to meet Hutus
But in Rwanda, [unclear] voting [unclear] or not
You have to meet them
In market, in street, in work, in hospital,
In uh…trans—public transportation
So you have to cope with that
And there's no choice

…
62. So…big decision but…
63. You have to take decision
64. On how-t-continue living your life without…hatred.

2.2.2.ii.II (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 1. The Creation of a New Identity—A: Arrival in the USA

1. **I: Ok, uh…before we went for a short break, you had uh told us how you finally came to the US**
2. DN: H-hm..
3. **I: And uh, to Connecticut**
4. DN: Right
5. **I: And joined Francis and uh Evelyn**
6. DN: Evelyn, right…
7. **I: Um…when was that, and uh, tell us a little bit about how you got here, how did it feel like, and how you started life…**
8. DN: Okay, when I came, I was fifteen,
9. I think I had—wait…yeah, I think I was fifteen…
10. um…I got here I left Zambia January twenty…fourth—
11. Now I can't remember the dates now **chuckles**
12. Uh January twenty-uh…twenty-fifth, of 2005
13. Um…and then I think I got here the next day, January twenty-six
14. Um…I took the limo, I wasn't shocked
15. About…everything…because, I had, you know, mey-United-the United States
16. Was my friend in my head, so **chuckles** …I kinda know…
17. Knew what to expect
18. So I took the limo
19. It's a bus company from JFK to Bridgeport where Francis and Evelyn are from
20. Uh and we met and it was such…an amazing moment for the both of us
21. Because we hadn't seen each other for a while
22. Uh…you know…my-sisters are always crying…
23. So they uh…you know, she was crying, hugging me, and…
24. I'm like okay, okay, okay…
25. But it was a-it was a very good moment and
26. You know Francis was also there, we-we hugged and-and
27. We drove to their house…
28. Um, I met their family
29. I met [unclear]-Tamama-my little niece
30. She's a…she's a sweetheart
31. Yeah, we, I met their kids
32. And Francis, and the other kids and Francis other kids
33. So its-it was an amazing an amazing an amazing moment, um…
34. And then…Elevani came, I think the next day or so
35. She came from California
36. With-her kids…that was the first time

37. In my whole entire life that we met you know
38. Coz she left before I was born
39. So there was it was a very…hu-it was a very big moment for the you know
40. For both of us and Evelin as well they hadn't seen each other in a while
41. So it was a very great, family…moment there um
42. So, um…everything was great and they invited their family friends
43. To come…it was a very a very great moment…yeah

2.2.2.ii.II. (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 1. The Creation of a New Identity—B: Adjustment to Life/School in the USA

44. **I: After reuniting with your family…uh…and then you start life, right?**
45. DN: And then, after all this…you know is over then…
46. I started living…uh…I started living
47. And…I was…I went straight to ninth grade
48. Um…coz when I was in Rwanda I stopped school when I was in
49. Grade six, and then I went to Zambia, I went to grade 8
50. So I skipped grade 7 and…
51. During I didn't go…I spent two years in Zambia without going to school
52. Because I couldn't speak English
53. So I went to school in grade 8th [sic] and then um
54. When I came here I went to grade nine
55. And…for some reason…
56. I did well **chuckles**
57. Uh…for some reason…uh…
58. Everything, it seemed like
59. I had lived here for a while
60. Like you know…
61. Uh…it was very difficult at the beginning
62. You know, adjusting to the language
63. Uh…adjusting to the culture
64. And you know, the kids…the differences
65. Um…but, after my ninth grade
66. When I went to sophomore year
67. Everything was perfect, I did very well
68. I was top in my class…in most of my classes
69. I did very well so…
70. I joined a few I played volleyball
71. From the time I was a freshman to the time I was a senior
72. I was the captain from sophomore year to senior year
73. Um…I won the MVP junior years and senior years
74. I actually got the…co-athletic of the year
75. At my senior banquet
76. Uh…I also ran cross country
77. From the time I was a freshman to senior year
78. I was the captain also
79. Um…I played bowling we had a bowling team

80. So I was on the bowling team as well
81. Um…so, I had a very great, great, high school uh-car…
82. Coz…these are things that I—didn't have…
83. When I was growing up…
84. I didn't know what it meant to **sighs**
85. Have people who cared about you
86. I…this all…all this was very new to me
87. And I make sure that I use all the opportunities
88. That I was given

2.2.2.ii.II.(Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 1. The Creation of a New Identity—C: College

140. I: And um…well, high school, after high school?
141. DN: So high school…I do all these things, I apply-
142. I got so many scholarships
…
145. I went on a college tour, and, I liked Temple University and
146. I app-I wanted to—play volleyball there because
147. You know I was so good in volleyball
148. And for some reason they didn't take my you know,
149. They rejected me…and uh…I was like okay, that's fine
150. Rejection is fine, so…
151. I applied at the university of Connecticut
152. They also didn't take me on the main campus
153. Which is in [unclear] Stolls [?]
154. And they wanted me to commute to Stamford
155. They have a-a branch-a campus in Stamford
156. But I wanted to live on campus…
157. So I had applied to other state schools in Connecticut and
158. You know, I got into Southern
159. Southern Connecticut State University
160. Its uh-it's in New Haven…and you know I happened to visit the school
161. I liked it I was like okay fine
162. I'm going to you know I'm going to Southern
163. They have a great business program
164. Uh their tuition is not too high
165. Um…so I loved it I…so I started attending Southern
166. Um…in 0—'08 and **sigh** so far everything has been uh
167. Has been great I haven't spent any
168. Um money for school because when I graduated I got a lot of scholarships
169. Um…you know to attend school, one of them being um
170. The Stewardship Foundation-it's a-it's a…scholarship based in Greenwich uh Connecticut um…
171. This guy, his name is Marlon Wang [SP] he was adopted from Hong Kong
172. And uh…in uh 0…6 he you know he created this foundation to help
173. Other kids who are orphans and foster kids

To go to college so I got that that has been very that has been very
They've been very helpful, um…I got other scholarships
The Charles s-a…lot of them…so far, I'm gonna be a junior in September
So so far I have not spent any um…money of my own
That I work for for school, and…except I had to take out a loan
In la…a…coz I went to study abroad in Paris
Last year…so I had to take out a loan but that was
About it…but it was worth it
I had a great time in Paris I saw another part of the world
I was there for a month
And then, I actually went to Belgium
I went to visit a good friend of mine
That we met in Zambia
His family went to Belgium so I got to go to Belgium
That was very great that was fantastic

2.2.2.ii.II.(Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 1. The Creation of a New Identity—D: Work

I: Yeah…and what do you do for a living?
DN: What do I do…at the moment, I work for uh a bank
It's called TD Bank it uh…TD stands for Toronto Dominion
It's a Canadian bank. I'm a…customer sales representative uh
But I'm actually going to be a financial services representative
Uh this…actually I'm on vacation right now so this coming week I should
Uh…train for my new role
Um…I'm a student, again I'm gonna be a junior at Southern
I'm majoring in Finance…um…
I graduate hopefully…I will graduate in twenty-twelve or twenty thirteen
Um…with a Finance degree uh by then I should have enough experience
To go to work for…another bank or stay with TD
Go to corporate I don't know
Um…I don't know what God has in hands you know…for me
Um…I also do a lot of motivational speaking
I go to different-schools and you know, um talk to the students
Talk to the college students and um…share…
A lot of things about my life where I am now
You know…um…and…yeah…

2.2.2.ii.II (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 2. The Assertion of a New Identity—A: Reflections on Ethnicity
(Lines 241 to 244 Underlined for Emphasis)

217. To be…a…Rwandese…born from a Hutu father and a Tutsi mother
218. Did that mean anything to you
219. Did it affect you in any way…and if so, how?
220. DN: I don't think being born and being born Tutsi really
221. Affects any part of my life um…I basically…
222. Um…I don't see affected you know, it doesn't affect
223. Any part of my life
224. Uh I don't see uh…Tutsis or the Hutus any different
225. Um…But I just don't understand…
226. You know…how people of the same country
227. You know…your own I just don't understand
228. How people would…be…
229. So cruel and kill their own…you know
230. I just…don't understand that…and its…it
231. That bothers me that you would kill your own
232. Family your own…people…
233. You know…with all these labels which I don't think
234. We have any much difference
235. You know I don't think they…you know…
236. That bothers me…but it's gonna take a while for me to understand
237. Like again, I'm still young, I'm still learning a lot of things
238. Um…so…but…being…um…being that my father was Hutu
239. And that…my mum was Tutsi
240. Doesn't really affect any part of my life
241. I am uh…I'm uh…a Rwandan-American I just got my citizenship
242. The other day…I became American…
243. Well, about a month ago…so…
244. Doesn't really affect me…I'm just a human being
245. Living life…that's all
246. I: Um…Yeah, and I guess probably why I'm asking…that…
247. You probably could have heard the tensions in Rwanda
248. And I mean when the genocide happened
249. You…were still young…so…you did not…
250. Probably know the…end the whole dynamics of what was going on…
251. Um…and their uh maybe the tensions between the Tutsis and the Hutus
252. And um uh…specifically your dad being a Hutu, you know…
253. And being killed during the genocide
254. I'm wondering if…um…uh did that raise any questions or
255. Even much later now do you reflect on it and say or…but what happened?
256. DN: What kind of questions are we…do you think?
257. I: I mean…why could have my dad been killed you know…
258. DN: Well he was killed because he was married to a Tutsi woman that's clear…
259. You know, uh…and from my understanding, they wanted him to…kill his family

260. But he didn't so they killed him
261. You know, like I said I'm s-I'm still like in the process of **sighs**
262. Understanding everything and uh…it's…it's very…
263. Complicated…I must tell you that…that knowing that…
264. People of the same, country they speak the same language
265. Except all these labels that, you know was created
266. Um…I just don't get it…

2.2.2.ii.II.(Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences)2. The Assertion of a New Identity—B: Future Aspirations I (Line 285 Underlined for Emphasis)

277. I: And uh…what are your aspirations in life what do you…look forward to?
278. DN: Um…my aspirations for life…
279. Um…I wanna do a lot of things
280. Um…one, being…I'm gonna do a lot of lectures when I retire
281. As a businessman
282. So I will be a one of the things I would like to do is
283. Go into different schools and…around the world and…
284. Talk to people…um…you know as…I have noticed
285. You know as Americans we tend to…whine a lot
286. And complain a lot…and…
287. And there's so many…people around the world who got much
288. Who go through much worse than what we you know we face here
289. So…we can do better we can appreciate life more and
290. Be thankful for what we have
291. So I wanna get that message out there
292. That there are people around the world who
293. Go through a worse…you know who go through a lot
294. You know people who sleep hungry
295. People who sleep on the floor
296. People…go through a lot around the world
297. And I think we should…as Americans we should be so privileged
298. To have all what we have you know even the people
299. Who are on food stumps should still be…you know…
300. Thankful because…they have…food [emphasizes the word]
301. You know there's other people who don't have that
302. I: H-hm…

2.2.2.ii.II(Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences)2. The Assertion of a New Identity—C:

Future Aspirations II (Line 333 Underlined for Emphasis, i.e. to Highlight "The Obliquely Spoken" Theme)

303. DN: You know, they don't even have…a penny
304. In their name…so…I wanna do that…
305. I want to um…build an orphanage
306. But this-this is…not no time soon…
307. That's when…uh…later on in life I wanna build an orphanage
308. Somewhere around where I can visit and…hang out with these kids and
309. Inspire them…and, you know…tell them regardless of they go through…
310. If they focus, if they work hard they can do…well for themselves
311. Um…I just started a nonprofit, um…with a mission to help…
312. Orphans around the world…um…my first um big um…
313. My first project…um…I'm going to Haiti this coming
314. This January hopefully, I'm going to visit
315. An orphanage, and…my goal is to visit
316. Uh…orphanages around the world…
317. And…see how people live and…get a feel…
318. Although I've been through a lot but…
319. I'm sure there are people who got worse than me
320. You know, every person have a different story
321. You know, I wanna learn about all this…
322. Stories…and my first project is going to Haiti this coming you know, early 2010
323. Um…I wanna write a few books…I think I have a lot of uh stories
324. That I would…want to tell not just my story
325. You know, my…my…being a genocide survivor
326. But there's so much more…there's
327. I've been through a lot and you know…losing my parents
328. Being called names you're dumb you'll never do anything with yourself
329. Um…from stealing because of stealing food…
330. Putting food in my…in my underwear…
331. A lot of stories…
332. I: Hm...
333. DN: You know…um…having sex for money…
334. A lot of things I think, people would learn
335. I think I can teach people a lot of things about life you know…and…
336. One thing the most thing is, you know…
337. I want people to stop whining about…their lives
338. Because it could be worse

2.2.2.ii.II. (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 2. The Assertion of a New Identity—D: Public Message
(Lines 400 to 409 Underlined for Emphasis)

387. I: Yeah… Um…the world will hear about your testimony, or people will
388. Uh… What do you want them to hear?
389. Because…what message would you want the world to know
390. About your testimony…
391. DN: Uh…well… Different people are gonna learn different things from this
392. You know…you never know what people…are going to…get
393. You know…um…but…what I would want people to learn from this…
394. Is that…I don't know…
395. I don't think…people will learn what they wanna learn…
396. You know…it's just…a message out there
397. Um…it's just a story out there…
398. People will get different-things from it
399. And…I guess I would just say
400. We need as…um, a society as Americans
401. We need to, I guess, educate ourselves
402. On what's going on around the world
403. We shouldn't just be in a box
404. And focus on ourselves
405. We should be able to go out there
406. And learn about different things,
407. Different things that…people face…on a daily….
408. Lives…you know, instead of just sitting here and
409. Fighting…yeah, so…the message I
410. I don't think I have any…specific…um…thing that I would want people to learn
411. I just want people to hear the story, and…they will learn what they…
412. They will get what-h-whatever they wanna learn from it

2.2.2.ii.II (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 3. Spirituality / Religiosity

341. I: Yeah, as you…told us about your life…
342. You…it's-it's clear, it wasn't an easy, a smooth ride…from…
343. Childhood…to Congo to Zambia to Jessica and John…and uh…
344. Up to today…um…very…rough times that you went through…
345. DN: Correct…
346. I: Where did you get, in your opinion, the strength to keep going on?
347. DN: **smiles/chuckles gently** Um…you know I don't know
348. It's just I must say it's a gift from God…
349. I don't know…um…I don't know where I get it from…
350. I guess it's something natural to me you know
351. It's like…I've been through so much
352. I should you know for the most part I should be
353. Feeling sorry for myself, but I do not…
354. Uh I don't why but I do not I feel that I am very privileged
355. And…you know I'm very thankful…
356. You know the experiences that I've been through
357. Are part…are part of…what makes me who I am today
358. I mean I lost my parents I lost my you know I lost my dad
359. My mum I did not grow up having the love of my
360. You know my dad and my family but so what
361. Life moves on should I just sit there and let this, you know,
362. Prevent me from achieving what I have to achieve?
363. You know, its…that's how I look at it…
364. You know I've been through so much but…its-its-I-I-I have-I had no control
365. I have no control-I had no control over that
366. I: H-hm…
367. DN: You know, so its…you know I tell myself to…focus on the things that I can
368. Do better or…things that I can have control over
369. Instead of focusing on things I have no control over
370. I: Hm…
371. DN: You know…so that's…that keeps me going and…you know and God
372. Has always been there, I'm not…I'm not very religious
373. You know I like to be very um I like to be free spirited
374. Um…but I know that there's you know somebody who guides me
375. Somebody who saved me from the genocide
376. Somebody who takes care of me every day…
377. Somebody who puts a smile on my face every day
378. Regardless of what I go through at the end of the day
379. And, trust me life is not perfect at the moment you know
380. It's-life is not perfect but…just the idea that I have a bed
381. You know I am going to school
382. I'm 21, we're in a recession, right now
383. And I have a great job, um…
384. I have-great-friends, great family…

385. Those are things to be thankful [sic]…you know

2.2.2.ii.II (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 4. The Obliquely Spoken—A (Lines 468 to 478 Underlined for Emphasis)

446. **I: Okay…and um…uh…I mean you're…great**
447. You have shared-you're sharing your testimony with us
448. Apart from the…schools where you've gone to be um…
449. You said, motivational speaker…
450. DN: Right, right…
451. **I: Are there any other organizations, um…institutions…that you have um…**
452. Had the opportunity to go and share um…the-your testimony with?
453. DN: Well, I've shared my testimony with a lot of organizations
454. I've went to the University of Connecticut
455. I've been at uh…I had an event at the…my bank, at TD bank
456. They had an event where it was stand against racism
457. And they invited me to speak there, so that was great
458. Um…I went to this…you know, Gilford [SP?] community center
459. It's a place where people who have retired
460. They invited different professionals to come and ss-you know, speak to them
461. Um, I was there…I went to speak there…
462. Um…I do a lot of high schools in Connecticut
463. Um…that's been a great experience…um…
464. So yeah…I've been to different high schools
465. And…a few colleges
466. Actually, um…there's a school a high school in North Carolina
467. That…maybe interested in, um, in me going to speak
468. To their students…so…it's-its good coz it's I love doing it
469. Because, it gives me a chance to…it's-it's kinda therapy you know
470. It's therapy for me…um…coz I didn't I-I-I've never went
471. I've never gone to therapy
472. Except for once, um…and it was, because of an issue that is
473. An issue I w-not yet ready to share yet…
474. So…that's the only time I went for therapy
475. But other than that…I do my own therapy
476. By talking to people…people asking questions
477. You know…people asking you know how do you do this
478. That kind of stuff…

2.2.2.ii.II. (Daniel Ndamwizeye's Personal Experiences) 4. The Obliquely Spoken—B (Lines 485, and 493 to 502 Underlined for Emphasis)

479. I: Ok… Um… Again, another, um…question that you had mentioned
480. That you don't want to mention their names and I respect that
481. Um…you told me that you were at John and Jessica and um…
482. Probably your sisters…were there as well…

483. DN: No
484. I: They weren't there they were in Gisenyi though
485. DN: Right… **Smiles sheepishly/enigmatically**
486. I: They were in Gisenyi…
487. Have you kept contact with John and Jessica?
488. DN: Yes I have…yeah, we're very um…
489. **Deep sigh…** We're very we-we…yes, I keep in contact with them…
490. Um…they are in denial, because they
491. That they gave me the best…um…you know they think they raised me well…
492. Um…but, I have not…um…I haven't talked to them yet about what happened
493. During that time…um…yes, of course, one day I will, you know, I will
494. Tell the world who they are…because the world is gonna be curious
495. That's how we are we're curious we wanna know things
496. Y-you know, people ask questions
497. But that-at the moment I don't think it's uh…
498. I haven't made peace with them yet…
499. So that's why…um…
500. Yeah, I haven't really…
501. Talked to them but we do talk we talk…
502. You know we talk and…yeah…So…they, they're great people…

2.2.2.ii. III (Esperance Kaligirwa's Personal Experiences)—A: First Two Weeks of Genocide

92. **I: Uhm…Describe how…the Tutsi genocide started…as much as you can remember.**
93. **EK:** Really, it start…after the Habyarimana airplane had been shot down, that's when
94. Then like after an hour we—my uh—my old[er] sister—we got a call from my older sister
95. She used to live in—about maybe ten minutes from us
96. She called uh—called us and said that uh …
97. Her husband best friend has been killed
98. And then at that time we knew that everybody is gonna be killed because
99. That friend wasn't even a politician or anything he was just like a regular man
100. So…at that time we knew that uh—everybody's gonna be killed
101. So…we were just like—waiting…every—l-yeah…
102. That's when…personally that's when I knew—that's—
…
103. **EK:** You just don't—I don't kn—like I don't know how to describe like—you waiting for death to come anytime…
104. And you don't know when they're coming…you don't know what's gonna happen, y—just—horrible
105. And then we used to—like I said we used to sleep in the hallways t—we used to pray every day—every day—but for me…
106. I lost faith I was like…
107. There's no way God…can exist
108. So I lost faith but my mother used to say you need to pray every time—you need to pray
109. And uhm…at that time the phone was still working for like a week
110. And then all of the sudden everything stopped, we didn't have any water, we didn't have any electricity, we didn't have any food…
111. We couldn't go outside, you know how um…
112. Back home in Africa…the houses are fenced
113. They have like big fence
114. You can't even like see outside…
115. We were like in prison, in our home…
116. We couldn't even go outside…
117. We couldn't even send anybody to get food
118. We were just stuck—home—waiting
119. **I: Hm…**
120. **EK:** Yeah
121. Waiting…And then after…I think after…
122. For one week nobody came—nobody…
123. We just stayed there…nobody—didn't bother us or anything we just stayed there in our house…
124. We used to…we didn't have food
125. You know I don't even know what we ate—we didn't have food anywhere
126. We didn't have food
127. Because our…I don't know how to call—our house maid—maybe?
128. He was a Tutsi, so he—he couldn't even go outside to get food

129. So, we stayed home…
130. Maybe, like people who knew us would come and buy food for us
131. But we didn't have—at that time maybe my brother would say
132. You guys are going to eat, I'm not gonna eat
133. Or my mum—say, you kids are going to eat, I'm not gonna eat…
134. Can you imagine like
135. We used to have a lot of food
136. Like food everywhere
137. So all the sudden, no food
138. **I: Hm…**
139. **EK:** All the sudden, no water
140. We didn't shower we didn't like we used to stink
141. [Mumbles] Like yeah…it was bad
142. So after…I think after two weeks, and then uh…
143. These soldiers came
144. They…used to come in a group like maybe five…
145. So they came and then they said
146. They were looking for this um…
147. This woman—they said uh—this woman is hiding
148. In our house…
149. But we didn't even know the woman
150. And then they went through the house and they searched
151. They didn't found [sic] her but uh…
152. What they want—what they wanted
153. They wanted to take
154. My father when he died he left
155. He left—three cars
156. So, we had like three cars in our house like three cars parked in our house
157. Car parked in the house…so when they didn't find an—the woman—they said they have to take one car
158. Otherwise they're going to kill us
159. So, they took one car, they left
160. And then another like after one week, they would come back again
161. They would say we're going to kill you guys unless if you give us another th—another thing or give us money
162. They would took [sic] another car
163. They would come next time they would took
164. And then all of the sudden we didn't have anything to give them
165. Because we didn't have any—my brother didn't have any money
166. We didn't have any more cars to give…yeah
167. We didn't have anything
168. And then…next time they would come and they would say
169. We are going to take your sister
170. Maybe they are going to rape her
171. They w—they—they w—they w—you can do anything
172. **I: Hm…**

173. **EK:** They would take—they—one time they took my little sister…**_sighs_**
174. They [pause] took her for…almost for five hours
175. **I: Hm-hm…**
176. **EK:** And then she came back for five—they brought her back
177. We didn't—we didn't even ask her
178. We didn't even talk about it, we didn't know what they did to her…
179. **I: Hm**
180. **EK:** So it—it was just um…ta—It was just I don't know how to describe it
181. Sometimes you would wish they would just come and kill you
182. Instead of killing you—like—slowly or…

2.2.2.ii. III (Esperance Kaligirwa's Personal Experiences)—B: First Execution Survival

1. **Interviewer: So what happened after these two weeks in the house?**
2. And then, the next time…they came
3. they said they were looking for my brother—my old brother
4. That they wanna kill him
5. But my brother—went hiding, like we had like a um—chicken, like chicken we had a house for chickens
6. So he went to hiding
7. In that house
8. But we didn't know where he went, really we didn't know
9. Because every time they would come we were like running around
10. Like, everyone would run…so we didn't know where he went
11. So we said, we don't know where he went
12. They searched for him, they couldn't find him
13. And then they said, you know what, now we're going to kill you guys
14. We have to come with us
15. So…they…we were like maybe…12 people
16. They say we have to go
17. They were looking for—a hole [pit/mass grave]
18. To—you know, like they had those big holes [pit/mass grave]
19. They would put people in that holes [pit/mass grave]
20. But because they didn't know the neighborhood they were
21. They were coming from somewhere else
22. They didn't know where the hole [pit/mass grave] were
23. So they said we have to go look for those holes [pit/mass grave]
24. They went they couldn't find holes [pit/mass grave]
25. We—we walk for like um…maybe five minutes
26. And then, they stopped us they said you know what we have to line
27. We have—you have to line [gestures, making a line]
28. Like…like a line
29. And then, we gonna use one gunshot to kill you guys…just one…
30. I remember I was so…so afraid I like you know what…
31. I'm not even gonna watch my mother died or my siblings die

32. I'm just gonna go in the first—first line…
33. I'm just gonna be killed…first
34. …and then…we lined
35. And then all of the sudden
36. These people came and then they said

…

49. You know what these people they're not en—enemies
50. They are really good people you don't have to kill them
51. And then, all of the sudden they say, ok, we're not gonna kill you guys
52. We went back home.

2.2.2.ii. III (Esperance Kaligirwa's Personal Experiences)—C: 2nd Execution Survival, Final Hiding, Separation & Reunion:

1. **I: So after…uhm…after walking outside, and then you people returning back to the house…uh…I mean, it kept on to…things kept on going like that unt-until when, you know…?**

…

2. That's when the last
3. Group of—now it was Interahamwe

…

4. They came into our houses
5. And then um…my mother said you know you have to go
6. You have to run you have to hide they're coming
7. And then all of the sudden we went like hiding
8. So my mother, my two young brothers, and my nephew, the one who was on vacation
9. I forgot one yeah—I forgot one person who was in the house
10. My cousin too—she was at our house
11. We—were hiding in the same room
12. Those are the ones who survived
13. So were hiding in the same room
14. Everybody else we didn't know where they went
15. We woul—just like, run
16. So we didn't know where they went
17. So we just like hide in one—like small-small room
18. And then we closed the door
19. And then we heard—people—coming…
20. And then they tried to—they tried to open the door…
21. And then I ss-my mother was going to open it
22. I said you know what
23. They gonna kill us anyway just don't open it let them open
24. Don't open for them they just gonna kill us anyway
25. And then I heard this um…
26. He was our neighbor
27. He said…you know what this room this room you can't open this
28. This room…the door is not working…

29. Apparently he saw us going in that room
30. He said this room is n-you can't even open it
31. There's nothing in there
32. You can't even go there—they left
33. That's how-we survived…
34. **I: Uh-huh…**
35. **EK:** They left but we heard noises we heard like maybe taking my brother
36. We didn't heard like saying names or anything but we heard saying
37. Why did you stay—why did you stay too long…you Tutsis
38. You're supposed to die, way before—you stayed for two months?
39. There's no—reason—you have to die now
40. So—they took them my they took my uh—my brother, Guido
41. My—my sister Kaitesi, my…little sister Rose, my auntie Antoinette, and my…other relative Paul
42. They took five people
43. **I: H-hm…**
44. **EK:** So we don't know where they took them apparently they killed them…so
45. **I: And that was the last…**
46. **EK:** Their la-yeah, that was their last time…
47. **I: Yeah…**
48. **EK:** I know it was June 11
49. **I: Yeah…**
50. **EK:** So that was the last time…
51. And then we…for us we-stayed in the room
52. We spent the night—there…
53. We couldn't go anywhere
54. And then…they guy who said the room is—you can't open the room
55. He went and uh…told our neighbor if they can hide us
56. But they refused
57. They said we cann-we cannot hide them
58. Of course he s-he couldn't hide…he couldn't hide us because he-his mum was Tutsi
59. So he was also a target—really
60. So he couldn't h-hide us—and then he went and asked this one guy
61. If he can uh…he can hide us
62. This guy said he can hide my—me and my mother
63. So he took my—he took my mother and me
64. And uh…and he hide us…in uh—his house
65. And then my brother…my brother…
66. My two brothers—they went into this orphanage
67. It was like—maybe two minutes from home
68. So they were hiding over there
69. My young brother—but ma-my-my the other brother
70. There's one guy who took him…and then
71. These people like a friend of our family
72. They were Hutu—they took him and then hide him and then hide him

73. But um…but when they found out he was uh—but he was a little kid he was like—maybe eight years old
74. Then they found out he was a Tutsi
75. They couldn't f-they couldn't hide him anymore
76. So they—they took him into this church like St. Famille Church

…

77. But my-my uh…my young brother
78. Another family friend
79. They-they took him and hide him

…

80. **I: Okay…uh…and then?**
81. **EK:** And then, for us…this guy hide us my mother and me [pause]
82. F-we stayed there, for…I don't know maybe a week
83. We stayed there for a week
84. He used to go…maybe he was Interahamwe
85. He used to go maybe kill people and then he would come at night
86. But he didn't touch us or do anything to us
87. He knew-he knew my father he was a neighbor
88. He knew my father he say you know your father was a—nice man
89. I'm just gonna hide you guys
90. He would go, during the day
91. We didn't know what he was-he would do during the day
92. But he would come at night, he would feed us
93. He had uh…he had a wife there
94. The wife would cook—he would feed us ****shrugs****
95. He would give us—we would take showers
96. He had a like a small house
97. But we woul-…he hide us for-two weeks
98. Yeah for two weeks…and then…another family friend
99. He found out that uh we were there and then he came
100. He came and took me
101. Another maybe…neighborhood called Biryoko
102. Another maybe 10 minutes or 5 minutes
103. He came with his car and then he took me but I remember I was so afraid because
104. I was ****sigh**** in our way we find like people laying down
105. Can you imagine I didn't see…I didn't go anywhere for two months
106. So I was…everything changed like houses-like destroyed
107. People everywhere lying down…dead people
108. So he took…he took me…into his house
109. And he had also a wife
110. He was he was mixed—he his um…I think his mum is from my father's village
111. He's from Butare
112. So he was mixed he was mixed Tutsi and Hutu
113. So…he took me, and then later on he went and um…
114. Bry-ma-brought my younger brother
115. So my younger brother…we were together—in the same house

116. Then my mother stayed there-my-my mother stayed at the other guy
117. For…like I said we-they-it was around maybe June…June 20 or 25th…
118. So…after a week…the i-…Inkontanyi came…they came
119. They took Kigali…so, I was hiding in that other man's house for maybe 1 week…
120. 1 week…and then my mother stayed there for another week
121. And then after…after that I remember it was like nighttime…
122. I heard like footsteps…everybody was like running around
123. I didn't know what was going on I was like what the heck is this
124. And then w-and then-and then…the man told us you know the Inkontanyi are in Kigali
125. They took Kigali, we have to go you have to go…
126. And then he said…if you wanna stay you can stay,
127. But for us, we have to go into the old Zaire the Congo
128. We have to go in Congo
129. Because they were afraid maybe **_sigh_** Inkontanyi were going to kill them or something
130. So and then I said you know what me I'm going to stay I'm not going anywhere
131. And then…so those who're going to stay they told us to in St. Andre
132. The-the school I went to
133. That's where everybody went
134. So they told us to go over there
135. And then when I was walking all of the sudden I saw my mother…
136. **I: In St. Andre**
137. **EK:** **_Nods assent_** …Yeah…
138. **I: H-hm…**
139. **EK:** I saw my mum…I was like **_Shakes head [in disbelief] & whispers_** oh my Gosh…
140. So he-sh-didn't know if we were alive…or anything…
141. We saw, it was…** _Shakes head [in disbelief] & whispers_** oh my Gosh…
142. She was so…skinny…like huh…jus-unbelievable…

2.2.2.ii. IV (Arsene Nsabimana's Personal Experiences)—A: Memories: Forgetting and Remembering

1. **I: And uh…who is your father, who is your mother, do you have any siblings?**
2. **AN**: Um…I don't have any siblings left well, I just have uncles and aunties left
3. **I: Ok…**
4. **AN:** My dad's name was Mathias, I'm…not sure about my…mum's name anymore…
5. Because I try my best to forget most of the stuff…or, even my brothers' names I-forgot-their names
6. The only th-the only reason I still remember Mathias is coz
7. My uncle's always reminding me of his name
8. **I: And uh…who is Mathias where is he?**
9. **AN:** He passed away…[long pause, waiting for interviewer]
10. **I: Okay…hm, um…tell us a little about, Gishyita where you were born**
11. What do you remember about Gishyita?
12. **AN:** Gishyita I remember very little about it…

13. I mean…that's where my grandpa and grandma where
14. We only went there a few times a year
15. **I: Hm..**
16. **AN:** so I really couldn't tell you much about it, you know…
17. **I: And uh…where do you live now?**
18. **AN:** Now, I, I-was-I live in Calgary, Calgary Edmonton
19. **I: H-Hm…**
20. **AN:** But…as [unclear word] now-I moved to…Niles, Michigan
21. **I: Hm…**
22. **AN:** You know…
23. **I: I know the…you left the country there for when you were still young, right?**
24. **AN:** Yes…
25. **I: So the memories that you have…are probably, mostly what you were told…**
26. Or, do you still remember a lot about y-Gishyita and your motherland?
27. **AN:** Uh…I don't remember much about Gishyita…
28. I only know, about after the genocide…but before that it was kinda blurry
29. Coz I was still a little kid…
30. **I: You were still a little kid…um…so what do you remember about the genocide?**
31. **AN:** Um…I just remember it-I was sleeping like one night like when Habyarimana passed away

…

32. **AN:** Um…we just woke up and my dad was yelling us he said come in my room
33. Come in my room…
34. The president has passed away he got shot down…
35. I: Hm…
36. AN: So…we all ran we were so confused
37. Me and my sister and my brother we were so confused
38. We ran into the—my parents room…
39. And we…we stayed there for a-the whole night
40. And…without knowing what was happening…
41. We just start hearing…people knocking on the front door
42. We know in Rwanda it's like a…fence around the house
43. So people are knocking are knocking on that
44. And the people that were working for us just went and opened the door
45. And it was a bunch of rebels just came running into…the house
46. It was like, where is-where is your dad-where is your dad…
47. And I had to go get him in the room
48. And when he came out these guys were being so fierce and
49. Throwing my dad around and I-I was so confused
50. I didn't know what was happening
51. And they told everybody that's in the house to go and sit around the couches
52. And…yeah, we were sitting on the couch they were asking my dad a bunch of questions
53. And he…seems to not—have any answers for them that was correct
54. Slapping him around…you know
55. And…I h-forgot what question they asked him and it got him really mad
56. And they start shooting

57. Me, they lined all of us in one line
58. Like uh—my dad was sitting on the far side, and uh…
59. My brother, my sister, and my mum and I was sitting on the next side
60. Sitting right next to my mum
61. And, as soon as I heard something pop, like a gunshot
62. I laid down…I think I fainted or w-I don't know what happened
63. And I just blacked out
64. And when I blacked out, like the next thing I felt like it was the next morning
65. But that, when that whole stuff happened it was—in the morning
66. But when I woke up I felt like it was the next day
67. So…I woke up like a wound on my black, I was under my mum's back
68. Like I was under my mum my mum was on top of me
69. All my clothes was full of blood…you know…
70. Everything like, everyth-where I walked was like a lot of blood
71. And then when I went into the room
72. To like was th-was anybody still-people that was working for us were still there
73. Everybody was gone…
74. So I came back, I was knocking on my mum…
75. I was like wake up coz I thought she was awake
76. And her-her eyes were still like-o-open, you know, so…
77. And I didn't know what was happening
78. And everybody was like—when I went next to my-my brother
79. My brother was like, like his leg was gone, you know…
80. My dad-my dad had like wounds on his you know his arms
81. And he had-he had his arms on his face like that [gestures]
82. So I…I was confused I didn't know what was happening
83. So, I just picked up my clothes and I went to the next door neighbor
84. The next door neighbor was—I think he was a Hutu…you know
85. But they were really good friends with-my dad
86. So I stayed there for a few days…you know
87. Stayed for…I think about…a week
88. Within-tho-that week, the Hutu rebels would come to drink
89. Like beer and…there's this other drink they have in Rwanda
90. I'm not sure how you pronounce it
91. But…they would sit there, spend a whole night there
92. But, the people that was hiding me they would put me under the chair

…

93. And then they told me that I had to go coz
94. The rebels were starting to f-be suspicious

…

95. So I went, I picked up my clothes and I went
96. I started walking anywhere

…

97. And I walked all the way to the school I used to go to
98. Which is…I think it was St. Famille
99. So I went there…there were like where the nuns and…used to live

100. So I went there and…found a place to stay for one night
101. And when I stayed there, I met this aunt named m-uh…Bernadette
102. Bernadette noticed me but I didn't really know who she was
103. And she seemed like a nice lady so I just, went wherever she went
104. She had a nice house, where I could stay with her
105. And she had a lot of kids with her
106. So I stayed with her till…
107. I'm not sure the month, but…I think it was like the next month or something
…
108. I: Okay…maybe, just a clarification…when um…the president died
109. And um…you were told, about um…um…you heard about it
110. And you told your parents…who else—who else was in the house?
111. You mentioned your dad, your mum, and your…
112. **AN:** I had-a brother and a sister…
113. I: And uh…do you remember their names?
114. **AN:** No…
115. I: You don't know their names
116. **AN:** No…
…
117. I try my best to forgot everything that happened anyways
118. I: Okay…
119. **AN:** And…the only name I still remember is my dad
120. And that's because I live with my dad's brother
121. I: Okay…
122. **AN:** So…yeah…and he always brings up that name anyways
123. Every time we talk about this stuff…
124. I: H-hm…
125. **AN:** Yeah…that's the only reason I still remember that name
126. But…just for me to move on,
127. I: H-hm…
128. **AN:** I always try my best to forget it…
129. I: Okay…
130. **AN:** And…the names and…
131. Because the names always bring up the picture
132. Of how they looked and everything
133. And…bring more emotions
134. I: Yeah…
135. **AN:** And so…I always try…to forget it…

2.2.2.ii. IV (Arsene Nsabimana's Personal Experiences)—B: Diaspora and Return, and General Reflections on the Genocide

2. **AN**: …In Niles, uh…I was just finishing grade nine there
3. I: H-hm…
4. **AN:** Like the-I think the last two semester…there
5. And…at the time, my-my uncle [Gerome] was getting ready

6. To move back to Kenya, because he got a job there
7. Me, I just did have-I didn't want anything to do with Africa, period
8. At the time…I just wanted more—I just wanted to stay away from there
9. So…they found a boarding school, in-in Canada
10. A uh…boarding school so I…that school was called Kingsway college
11. When I stayed…I mean…I didn't even wanna go anywhere where…
12. There were Hutus, any-I didn't wanna be affiliated with-those people so
13. Yeah, I just went to…Canada…
14. Went to a boarding school…stayed there…
15. During those years…went to high school finished high school there
16. Yeah, and…after high school…
17. They came back for vacation
18. And I came back here, to visit them…
19. I: That's Jerome and family
20. **AN:** That's Gerome and his family, yeah…
21. I: Okay…
22. **AN:** The-k-I, they came back, I came to visit them
23. And that's when they're like you should come back to Africa and visit
24. I was like, ah…I don-I don't know…
25. I don't…that's gonna bring a lot of tough memories
26. I don't even think I remember…the place…
27. They said, yeah, it's very different, they built it…
28. They, I mean, the roads…are not dirt anymore…you know
29. So I thought about it for like a year…
30. And…finally in two-thousand and seven that's when
31. I got the confidence to go back and-visit them
32. I: Yeah…
33. **AN:** You know…
34. Two-thousa-I went there-I went the first place I went was in Rwanda
35. Stayed there for a month, Gerome…took me to…
36. Where his parents lived…
37. That's my grandpa, and grandma's, on my dad's side
38. I: Okay…
39. **AN:** So we went, we went there…spent a whole day
40. Showing me different s-places…and where he was born
41. And…et cetera et cetera but…it was just different to see
42. Where…my dad, and…my uncles came from…
43. And where they are right now
44. It was just amazing…
45. And…you know it just looks like, nobody really cares
46. About the place…coz they never rebuilt it
47. I: Uh-you're talking about your…biological dad, or…
48. **AN:** Yeah…my biological dad…
49. I: Okay…
50. **AN:** Yeah…
51. I: So, where do they come from, in Rwanda?

52. **AN:** They were born in Kibuye
53. I: In Kibuye…
54. **AN:** Yeah…that's where they were…grew up
55. I: Okay…um…so…you came back
…
56. Er…when I came back…from…Africa
57. I: H-hm…
58. **AN:** I started, I started college in Kingsway university college
59. That's in Alberta in Canada
60. Started…went there for…psychology for one year
61. And I…I just, I just…felt like it wasn't for me…
62. Psychology…I toughed it out for one year
63. And…just…stopped, coz I got confused I'm like…
64. This, I don't know if this is what I'm gonna do
65. For the rest of my life…
66. So…I took a break…
67. Being just thinking about what I really need to do
68. I: H-hm…
69. **AN:** Right now…I feel like I'm getting there, coz…
70. I'm leaning on towards one thing…
71. H-it's computer, computer science…yeah
72. I: Um…As a young…um…a Rwandan guy Nsabimana
73. Who…luckily survived the genocide…
74. Um…when you think back, um…
75. What feelings does it bring to you?
76. **AN:** I just feel like…that sort of stuff should never have happened anyways
77. I: H-hm…
78. AN: You know it could have got dealt with
79. **shrugs** so different, you know…
80. Like the presidents—die every day, you know?
81. In history…so you don't have to, like, start killing other race
82. Because your president has passed away…you know?
83. I just feel like…as soon as their president passed away
84. They just felt like the Tutsis are the ones who killed him
85. And they just got…angry at with hut-with the Tutsis
86. Where they just wanted to clean up…ev-the whole race
87. You know? Just clean out, try to clean out the whole race and
88. Even though…some Hutus were killed too…but Tutsis were the more…
89. You know, they were, they're the ones who lost the most
90. [Word unclear] most of their families, you know…
91. People who didn't even have authorities in the army
92. People who was living like friends probably which-your parents
93. Who were trying to killing your parents the next day
94. You know because you were Tutsi
95. So I, I just felt like…there was no respect for human…beings, period
96. You know?

2.2.2.ii. IV (Arsene Nsabimana's Personal Experiences)—C: Forgetting and Forgiving

1. I: People around the world will listen to your testimony…
2. What would you want them to hear?
3. What message would you want them to…
4. Get from your testimony?
5. **AN**: That we need to stop fighting…
6. I: H-hm…
7. **AN:** Fighting with each other
8. We-r-we're human…we all have feelings…you know?
9. We n-we need to stop fighting with each other
10. And just build with-you know, friends-friendship with each other
11. That killing people you know I-it took-it took me a lot
12. To forgive…you know?
13. Like to me I can sit down and talk to a hut-to a Hutu right now
14. And you know, I wouldn't feel any sort of
15. Like anger towards that person
16. But…I just feel like we-we have to be friends
17. Stop fighting and…just…build the world together
18. I: Yeah…
19. **AN:** You know?
20. I: And uh…
21. **AN:** And fighting f-fighting between, because we have differences between tribes
22. Is not-is not right we should just respect other people's privacy
23. I: H-hm…and when did <u>you</u> actually forgive…
24. Or have you fully forgiven?
25. **AN:** I've fully forgived [sic]…I f-I actually
26. I really fully forgaved [sic] when I went back to…
27. To Rwanda…that's when I felt like…
28. I h-I really forgave the—the people that did this
29. Coz before, I never really…my uncle…
30. Gerome…never really could have got me to go back
31. I would never went [sic] back until I forgive
32. You know?
33. Felt like I was comfortable going back
34. I: And uh, what made you forgive?
35. **AN:** I mean, it's like-it's all…of like forget-forgive and forget kinda thing…
36. I: H-hm…
37. **AN:** Start getting comfortable talking about it
38. You know…forgetting a little bits and pieces about it
39. I: Yeah…
40. **AN:** And…yeah that's how it came about just felt comfortable
…
41. I just forgot…little bit pieces-of-about it…and yeah…

Curriculum Vitae—August 2015

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EDUCATION

PhD in Culture, Communication, and Media
Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA
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Dissertation Working Title: *Rwandan Former Refugees and Genocide Survivors' Narrative Sensemaking and Resilience Expression in the USC-Shoah Archive and Western Newspapers (US, UK, Italy, and Canada)*
Supervisor: Dr. Rachel Reynolds

M.A. in Communication Studies
Kean University, Union, NJ
Graduation Date: Spring 2010

B.A. in English-Writing
Kean University, Union, NJ
Graduation Date: Spring 2008

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Adjunct Instructor at Drexel University, Philadelphia PA
Supervisor: Dr. Rachel Reynolds, Director of the Graduate Program
Courses Taught:

Winter 2013 to Fall 2013: Principles of Communication
Winter 2013 to Spring 2014: Intercultural Communication
Spring 2014 to Winter 2015: Introduction to Sociology

Adjunct Instructor at Kean University, Union NJ
Supervisor: Dr. Christopher Lynch, Department Chair

From Fall 2010 to Summer 2012: Speech Communication as Critical Citizenship (2 Sections)
Fall 2011: Communication and Conflict Resolution

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

PUBLICATIONS

Peer Reviewed Book Chapter (Upcoming):

Sekalala, S. 2016: Efficacy of Narrative/Discourse Analysis, and Autoethnographic Research Methods in Communication/Media and Ethnic Conflict Studies: A Reflection on

Research About Rwandan Former Refugees and Genocide Survivors (FRGSs). In Gibson, S. & Lando A.L. Impact of Communication and the Media on Ethnic Conflict. IGI-Global Press.

REFEREED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

ECA CONFERENCE (CAMBRIDGE, MA) 2012
Presenter (Intercultural Communication Panel): *Refugee & Asylee Identity Negotiation*

NCA CONFERENCE (WASHINGTON, DC) 2013
Presenter (Scholar-to-Scholar Panel); Competitive Paper: *Immigrant Digital Subjectivities*

WAYNE STATE U. CITIZENSHIP CONFERENCE (DETROIT, MI) 2014
Presenter ("Place for Minorities" Panel); Competitive Paper: "*The Rwandan Girl Who Refused to Die": A Discourse Analysis of the Fergal Keane (PBS Frontline) Story about Valentina Iribagiza*

ECA CONFERENCE (PHILADELPHIA, PA) 2015
Presenter (Intercultural Communication Panel): *Autoethnographic Reflection on Research into Rwandan Former Refugees and Genocide Survivors.*

HUMAN DIGNITY AND HUMILIATION STUDIES CONFERENCE (KIGALI, RWANDA) 2015
Presenter (As Co-Author; Panel Unassigned as of January 2015): *Global Intercultural Citizenship in Rwandan Reconstructive Dialogue*

NCA CONFERENCE (LAS VEGAS, NV) 2015
Presenter (Peace and Conflict Studies Division): *Communication/Mass Media and Mass-Conflict Survivor Research: Insights From Study of Rwandan Former Refugee and Genocide Survivor (FRGS) Narratives & Discourses*

SELECT CURRENT PROJECTS

Paper/Manuscript; Co-Authored With Brandon Niezgoda MA, PhD Cand., Drexel University; Method(s): Network Analysis, Textual Analysis of Movies; Working Title:
Reading Between the Lines: The Pragmatics of Meretricious versus Meritorious Independent Cinema

Paper/Manuscript; Co-Authored With Dr. Alison N. Novak, Rowan University & Brandon Niezgoda MA, PhD Cand., Drexel University; Method(s): Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); Working Title:
Millenials' Health Narratives Online

Paper/Manuscript; Co-Authored With Dr. Douglas V. Porpora, Drexel University; Method(s): Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); Working Title:

Absence of Truth Analyses in Communication Research: The Case of the US Mass Media's Coverage of the 2012 Benghazi Attack.

HONORS, AWARDS & GRANTS

Winter 2015: International Travel Award (for Kigali June 2015 conference)

Fall 2014: Honorarium for textbook review, from Pearson Publishing.

Fall 2008 to Spring 2010: Graduate Assistantship for Master's Degree at Kean University

Spring 2008: Bachelor's Degree with Honors (*Cum Laude*) at Kean University

Academic Years '06-'07 & '07-'08: Dean's Honor List

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

International Communication Association

National Communication Association (NCA)

Eastern Communication Association

African Studies Association

Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies Group

SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY

Winter 2015: Founding member of the African Studies Association steering committee of the Students' and Early Career Professionals' Caucus

Winter 2015: Reviewer of manuscripts for the conflict studies division of NCA, for the 2015 convention (Las Vegas)

Fall 2014: Volunteer at the Mantua Community Improvement Committee's Children's Halloween Party

Fall 2014: Judge at the STAR Scholars Summer Showcase

NON-ACADEMIC PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

IT & Business Development and Communications Specialist
Power Consulting Group, NY 04/2011—09/2011
Assisted in the day-to-day resolution of IT consulting issues

Looked out for, and harnessed relevant business development opportunities

Documentation: wrote manuals, reports, and other relevant internal literature

Marketing: wrote and revised website copy and other marketing literature, created and used marketing plans, etc.

IT Specialist
Union County College 07/2010—06/2012
Provided quick IT solutions over the phone.

Carried out on-site investigation and troubleshooting for simple IT issues.

Handled complex IT issue referral (i.e. to specialists, off-campus contractors, etc.)

Graduate Assistant & IT Lab Supervisor
Kean University English Dept. 09/2008—05/2010
Was in charge of IT labs and lab assistant recruitment/training

Assisted faculty with course planning and research

Executed special projects as assigned by the department chair (e.g. poetry contest for high school students on university campus, sponsored by the English department).

REFERENCES

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